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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

15544

Edited by Prof. John Dowson

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The articles published in this volume appeared in the fourth volume of the original edition of the work which, as the editor John Dowson observes in the course of his prefatory remarks, "traverses the disordered intervals between the irruption of Timur and the culmination of Musulman glory under Akbar."

The opening article *Tarikh-i Daudi*, of which only a few extracts are printed here, is an Afghan chronicle. It is the best available authority for the period of which it treats, containing as it does details and scraps of information hitherto inaccessible. It affords the means of arriving at a true estimate of the characters of Sultans Sikandar and Islam Shah. The work closes with the death of Daud Shah and the extinction of the Afghan dynasty.... "The Afghan dynasty, which followed that of the Saiyids, has plenty of Chronicles, but no work approaching the dignity of a history. The spirit of clan-ship has always been strong among Afghans, and their writers exhibit a greater affection for personal anecdotes and family feuds than for matters of public policy. All the works relating to this dynasty abound with anecdotes and stories, many of which are trivial and uninteresting."

"The Extracts from the *Mulla's Sa'dain* consist of some short passages relating to Timur's invasion; but the major portion is devoted to the events of the author's embassy to the Raja of Bijanagar, and throw considerable light upon the condition of India in the fifteenth century. 'Abdu-r Razzak was a florid writer, and relates his travels in the grand style; but the portions relating to Timur's invasion are written in a plain unpretending narrative remarkable by the contrast. It is hardly credible that both could have come from the same pen. The part relating to Timur was probably copied or translated, but

as only some Extracts of the first volume of the MS. have been available, we are in ignorance as to what account 'Abdu-r Razzak gives of his authorities. The style of the portion devoted to the history of Timur is very like that of the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*, and so closely follows the details of that work and the *Zafar-nama*, that it has been necessary to print only a few lines as specimens."

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the names of the writers :

1. *Tarikh-i Daudi*—"Ensign" Chas F. Mackenzie.
2. *Matla'us Sa'dain*—Probably C. J. Oldfield, B.C.S.
3. Notes on *Matla'us Sa'dain*—Col. Yude. 4. *Odes of 'Unsurī*—H. M. Elliot.
5. *Diwan of Salman*—H. M. Elliot.
6. *Memoir of Mir Ali Sher*.—H. M. Elliot.
7. *Autobiography of Timur*—Editor.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 78, paragraph 2. "Patna," add note : More probably Panna.

Page 96, to note 2, add, "and Yule's edition vol. ii. p. 320."

„ 107, line 23, for "*kichu*" read "*kichri*".

„ 116, 117, for "beams" read "slabs".

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

Part V

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TARIKH-I DAUDI

OF

'ABDU-LLA

[THIS history bears no date, and the author says nothing about himself; but he incidentally calls himself 'Abdu-lla, and mentions the name of the Emperor Jahangir; so the book must have been written after the accession of that monarch, which took place in the year 1605 A.D. The author gives the following account of his work in the Preface :

"History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples. Since this humble individual has spent a considerable portion of his life in studying historical works pregnant with instructive examples, and has examined the conditions of things under many sovereigns; and it appeared that the records of the reigns of the Afghan kings (of Hindustan), who were one of the dynasties of the times, existed only in a scattered form; I involuntarily conceived the design of collecting them, with the aid of the Almighty, in one volume. I therefore undertook the work, and in a very short time completed it. I commenced with the reign of Bahlol Lodi, who was the first king of the Afghan dynasty, and brought my history down to the (end of the) reign of Muhammad 'Adali Sur [and] Daud Shah, who was the last ruler of this race, and I entitled it the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*."¹ Daud Shah was beheaded by order of the Khan-khanan, and a chronogram at the end of this work gives the date as 983 H. (1575 A.D.).

Like all historians of this period, 'Abdu-lla is very

¹ Col. Lees, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. new series, p. 453.

deficient in dates, and is fond of recording stories and anecdotes, many of them not a little marvellous. All the writers attribute to the Sultan Sikandar Lodi great intelligence and justice, and a shrewd way of settling mysterious disputes. Anecdotes of his acumen are numerous, and many of them have been reproduced by later writers, and attributed to the monarchs of their own times. A few only of the stories recorded under the reign of Sikandar have been printed as specimens. The history of his reign, as given in this book, is very fragmentary and disjointed, and amounts to little more than desultory memoirs : but this is the prevailing character of all the works upon the Afghan dynasty. They are valuable as affording materials from which a history might be compiled ; but the dynasty has no special historian. The earlier and the later extracts were translated by Sir H. M. Elliot ; but the narratives of the reigns of Sikandar and Islam Shah were translated by Ensign Charles F. Mackenzie, and approved by Sir H. M. Elliot. The notes are the work of the latter.]

EXTRACTS

* * * * *

Malik Bahlol invited to usurp the throne

HAMID KHAN escaped and fled to Dehli, and pondered how he should elevate some one else to the throne in lieu of 'Alau-d din. He summoned two competitors for the crown—Kiyam Khan and Malik Bahlol. Both obeyed the summons with alacrity. Bahlol was at Sirhind, and hastened with the quickness of the wind towards Dehli, accompanied by a countless army. Kiyam Khan, hearing that Bahlol had the start of him, abandoned the journey on which he had set out.

Malik Bahlol paid his respects to Hamid Khan, who, on his very first interview, congratulated him upon obtaining the empire of Dehli, expressing his own determination to retain the *wazarat*. Malik Bahlol replied :

—"I am a mere soldier, and cannot manage even my own country. You should be king, and I will be the commander of your troops, and obey any other injunctions you may have to issue." * * * *

At last, after engagements had been entered into, he placed the keys of the fort before Bahlol, who acknowledged himself ready to undertake the service assigned to him. He professed to take charge of the city and its gates, leaving the government in the hands of Hamid Khan, and although the latter retained all the shadow of power, yet in reality all the royal establishments were usurped by Bahlol. So long as Hamid Khan retained any power, Sultan Bahlol thought it expedient to pay him extreme marks of deference, and went every day to pay his respects.

* * * * *

Character of Sultan Bahlol

Sultan Bahlol was, indeed, a king who fostered religion, and evinced courage and generosity. His mercy and benevolence were habitual : he observed the rules of honesty, and had exceeding respect for the law, to the injunctions of which he strictly adhered in all his undertakings. He spent most of his time in the assemblies of the wise, and in the society of holy men ; and made special inquiries respecting the poor and necessitous. He never turned away a suppliant ; and he read his prayers in public five times every day. He devoted excessive care to the administration of justice ; himself heard the petitions of his subjects, and left them not to be disposed of by his ministers. He was wise, experienced, considerate, kind, friendly, condescending, and just. Whatever came into his possession, in money, goods, or new *parganas*, he distributed it all among his troops, and reserved nothing whatever for himself. He accumulated no treasure, and executed his kingly functions without parade and ostentation. At the time of his meals, he satisfied himself with farinaceous food ; but any one who entered might partake of other viands. In his social meetings he never sat

on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet. Whenever he wrote a *farman* to his nobles, he addressed them as "*Masnad 'Ali*;" and if at any time they were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party: nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban from his head, and solicit forgiveness, saying: "If you think me unworthy of the station I occupy, choose some one else, and bestow on me some other office." He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldeirs. If any one was ill, he would himself go and attend on him. Before he ascended the throne, it was the custom in Dehli to distribute, every third day, *sharbat*, *pan* leaves, sugar-candy, and sweetmeats. But Sultan Bahlol put an end to this, and positively declined to maintain the practice, observing, that, with respect to Afghans, if one poor man should die, a hundred thousand of his tribe would come forward, and how could he provide for such a multitude, and satisfy them? He was exceedingly bold, and on the day of battle, immediately he saw the enemy appear, he would dismount from his horse, fall on his knees, and pray for the success of Islam and the safety of Musulmans, and confess his own helplessness. From the day that he became king, no one achieved a victory over him; nor did he once leave the field of battle until he had gained the day, or been carried off wounded: or, from the first he avoided an engagement.

It is said that, during the first week of his accession, he was present at worship in the *Masjid-i Jami*", when Mulla Fazin, who was one of the elders of the city, ascended the pulpit to read the *khutba*. When he had concluded, and had come down again, he exclaimed: "Praised be God! we have an extraordinary tribe of rulers; nor do I know whether they are the servants of the arch-fiend or arch-fiends themselves. Their language

is so barbarous, that they call a mother, *mur* ; a brother, *rur* ; a nurse, *shur* ; a soldier, *tur*, and a man, *nur*." When he said this, Sultan Bahlol put his handkerchief to his mouth, and smilingly said : "Mulla Fazin, hold, enough ! for we are all servants of God."**

The Reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi

Historians who have written concerning the reign of Sultan Sikandar say, that before his accession to the throne he was called Nizam Khan, and that he was remarkable for his beauty, which was unsurpassed, and that whoever looked on him yielded his heart captive. Shaikh Hasan, the grandson of the Shaikh Abu Lala whose memory is revered in Rapri, was captivated by his appearance. This Shaikh Hasan was one of the most distinguished men of the period. One winter day, Prince Nizam Khan was sitting in his private chamber, when Shaikh Hasan was seized with a desire of beholding him, and he found no difficulty in reaching him, on account of the respect in which men of his pure mode of life are held. Sultan Sikandar was much astonished at seeing him enter, and asked him how he had come in without permission, in spite of the doorkeepers. The Shaikh answered, "You know best how and when I came." The Sultan said : "You consider yourself fond of me ?" He replied, "I cannot hinder myself from being so." The Sultan ordered him to come forward ; he did so, and there was a stove before the Sultan : the Sultan placed his hand on the Shaikh's head, and pressed it towards the burning coals ; notwithstanding which, the Shaikh did not make the slightest movement or resistance. They remained in this position for a short time, when Mubarak Khan Lohani arrived : he wondered much at what he saw, and asked who that person (the Shaikh) was. The Sultan replied that it was Shaikh Hasan. Mubarak Khan said : "O man who fearest not God, what are you doing ? Shaikh Hasan has suffered no damage or injury from the fire ; tremble, lest you yourself should !" The

Sultan said, "He calls himself my admirer!" Mubarak Khan answered: "You ought to be thankful for his doing so, and that you are pleasing in the sight of so holy a man: if you would obtain felicity in this world and the next, obey him." Prince Nizam Khan then withdrew his hand from the Shaikh's neck; and every one saw that, notwithstanding the dreadful heat of the fire, neither the face nor hair of the Shaikh had been injured. In spite of all this, the Sultan ordered the Shaikh to be chained, neck and foot, and cast into a dungeon. This was also done; and a week afterwards they informed Sultan Sikandar, that Shaikh Hasan was dancing in the *bazar*; he ordered him to be seized and brought before him. When he came into the presence, the Sultan said to him: "You call yourself my admirer; why have you escaped from the captivity in which I placed you?" Shaikh Hasan answered: "I did not do so of my own accord; my grandfather, Shaikh Abu Lala, led me forth by the hand." The Sultan ordered the room in which the Shaikh had been confined to be inspected; the door was opened, and the chains found lying on the ground; and the Shaikh had, nevertheless, been found dancing in the *bazar*! Thenceforth the Sultan did not treat the Shaikh with disrespect.²

It is also related of this prince, that before his accession, when a crowd of Hindus had assembled in immense numbers at Kurkhet, he wished to go to Thanesar for the purpose of putting them all to death. One of his courtiers represented to him that it would be better to consult the learned before doing this. Sultan Sikandar caused the doctors to assemble, and questioned the chief of them, whose name was Mian 'Abdu-lla, of Ajodhan. This Maliku-l Ulama asked the King what there was in that place (Thanesar). He replied, "There is a tank in which all the infidels are accustomed to bathe." The

² This curious illustration of the customs, follies, and superstitions of the time is also given by Razku-lla Mushtaki (MS. p. 23) and Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 56).

Maliku-l Ulama said, "Since when have they been in the habit of doing so?" Nizam Khan replied that it was an ancient custom. Mian 'Abdu-lla asked what the Muhammadan sovereigns who had preceded him had been in the habit of doing. The Sultan answered, that up to his time they had left the Hindus unmolested. The Maliku-l Ulama then assured the King that it would be very improper for him to destroy an ancient idol-temple, and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed rite of performing their ablutions in the tank. When this conversation had lasted a short time, the Sultan placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed, "You side with the infidels. I will first put an end to you, and then massacre the infidels at Kurkhet!" Mian 'Abdu-lla said, "Every one's life is in the hand of God—no one can die without His command: whoever enters the presence of a tyrant must beforehand prepare himself for death, let what may happen! When you asked me, I gave you an answer in conformity with the precepts of the Prophet; if you have no reverence for them, what is the use of inquiring?" Sultan Sikandar's wrath was slightly appeased, and he said, "If you had permitted me to do this, many thousands of Musulmans would have been placed in easy circumstances by it." Mian 'Abdu-lla replied: "I have said my say; you know what you intend doing:

What I say to you is dictated by eloquence.
Either take advice or be vexed."

The Sultan then rose up from the assembly, and all the learned went with him, with the exception of Mian 'Abdu-lla, who remained standing in his place. The Prince requested that he would visit him occasionally, and then gave him leave to depart.

Another anecdote related of him is, that, in the time of Sultan Bahlol, when Tatar Khan and Saif Jan, grantees of the State, had rebelled, and seized many districts,^s

^sThe *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (MS., p. 16) says Lahore was the province which had been seized by Tatar Khan Yusuf-khail.

the revenues of which they applied to their own private use, it so happened that at the same period Prince Nizam Khan had seized Panipat without the permission of Sultan Bahlol, and made it a *jagir* of his own. Certain nobles laid a complaint about this before the Sultan, who caused a *farman* to be written to Khwajagi Shaikh Sa'id, the Prince's *diwan*, to this effect: "The Prince has behaved thus at your instigation. If you have such a desire to display your courage, take forcible possession of Tatar Khan's estates! What courage do you show when you plunder my territory?" The Shaikh went to the Prince with the *farman* in his hand, and on the Prince's inquiring if all went well, he answered that it did, inasmuch as Sultan Bahlol had himself made over the regal power to the Prince. The Prince asked why he spoke in that way. He answered, "Look at this *farman* which he has written and sent." The Prince opened it, and found that its contents were to the effect that if he possessed the courage and power, he should take possession of Tatar Khan's lands. The Sultan said, "O Khwajagi, they have given us a strange sort of kingdom." The Khwajagi observed: "A kingdom is not to be gained easily. If you can perform what has been ordered, you are certain to succeed to the throne. The King commands you to take the management of important business, which he ought to transact himself; and by so doing he hints to you that he intends you to succeed him." "Well," said the Prince, "what must I do then?" He replied, "Arise, and try your fortune! As it is said in this verse:

No one receives a land as his heritage,
Unless he arms each of his hands with a sword!"

At that period, when the Prince Nizam Khan was staying at Panipat, he had 1500 horsemen with him, all of whom were as much attached to him as Khwajagi Shaikh Sa'id Farmuli, and his relations. Among these adherents were Mian Husain and his five brothers, Darya Khan, Sher Khan Lohani, 'Umar Khan Sarwani, and

others. One day the Prince mustered this force in Panipat, and after consulting with all the chiefs about his affairs, they came to the conclusion that the best course would be to send a portion of the 1500 men he had with him against the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, and order them to take possession of them. When strife had thus commenced, Tatar Khan collected a large army, and Prince Nizam Khan advanced from Panipat with the before-mentioned troops to meet him. They encountered each other in the *pargana* of Ambala, on the plain where subsequently the battle was fought between Salim Shah and Haibat Khan Niazi, whose title was 'Azam Humayun.

Nizam Khan and his troops turned their faces towards the field with the same courage which their predecessors had displayed on the day of the fight. The Prince was accompanied by a body of his most valiant warriors well armed, and the Khwajagi Sa'id went before him on horseback. The Khwajagi glanced two or three times at the Prince, who asked him what he noticed. He replied : "Your slave sees that you are surrounded by gallant youths : if you lead them well, you may hope for victory ; if you do not choose to do this, you are, of course, at liberty to do what you please. Just consider what your troops are capable of performing. Tatar Khan may have 15,000 horsemen, but he does not possess ten such as these. If the Most High be pleased to grant victory to your troops, your wishes will be accomplished ; if not, you can easily effect your escape, for you are mounted on a swift horse, and could never be overtaken." When the Prince heard this speech, he laughed, and said to the Khwajagi, "In my imagination I can picture to myself your horse's feet scampering above the surface of the ground ; but as for mine, I see him buried in the enemy's gore up to his very chest, so that he cannot move." The Khwajagi alighted from his horse, and gave his right hand to the Prince, saying, "This is a sign of

victory; such a chief ought always to possess bravery and resolution."

When the hostile parties had come to close quarters, the first person who rode towards the foe was Darya Khan Lohani, accompanied by thirty men, who placed himself between the two armies; and in order that these horsemen might act effectively, he desired that they should all direct their attack together against the same quarter. From the other side, 500 horsemen advanced to meet them, and Darya Khan attacked these 500 with his thirty troopers, and fought so fiercely that sparks flashed from the steel in the sight of both armies. Darya Khan vanquished and defeated them, and they fled back to their comrades, whilst Darya Khan returned to his position. It is said that 500 horsemen came out there several times against Darya Khan, who put them on each occasion to flight, and then went back to his post; after the third trial no enemy advanced, and Darya Khan said to his companions, "The fear which I have caused and the fortune of my lord have appalled them; you, O friends, remain here whilst I hasten against them in person." Darya Khan penetrated their army three times, and three times returned to his place. After which Mian Husain, with 700 troopers,⁴ sallied forth from the army of the Prince, and was attacked by 1500 horsemen of Tatar Khan's. Mian Husain was three times successful in the same manner as Darya Khan had been; and he also went three times singly in amongst the foe, and escaped three times. After Mian Husain, 'Umar Khan Sarwani with 500 horse, receiving permission from the Prince, advanced in the direction of Mian Husain, and when near him, an interchange of civilities took place, after which 'Umar Khan said to the Mian, "May a thousand mercies be with you and Darya Khan! You have behaved with a valour which elicits the praises of every one. I have as yet done nothing, and I have come to consult you as to what I

⁴ The original reads only seventeen. I adopt the more probable number given by Ahmad Yادگار.

ought to do. You have already done more than your duty ; now it is my turn !”

Just at this time, Ibrahim Khan, the son of 'Umar Khan, galloped up to his father, and said, “I adjure you by the Kuran and the salt of the Prince not to advance your horse. As you looked on whilst Darya Khan the son of Mubarak Khan, and Mian Husain the son of Khwajagi, were fighting, look also at what your own son does !” 'Umar Khan said, “I am ready to witness your valour, and will hold back.” Ibrahim Khan said, “Nothing can be perceived in a crowd ; you ought, therefore, to see me advance singly.” After saying this to his father, he attacked the enemy's 15,000 horsemen three times, overthrowing on each occasion two or three hostile cavaliers with his spear, whilst their horses fled riderless. 'Umar Khan, when he beheld this, raised the battle-cry of the followers of Islam, and charged the division attached to Tatar Khan himself. Tatar Khan was slain, and Hasan Khan his brother fell alive into his hands, and the whole army of Tatar Khan was routed. This victory, which no one expected the Prince to gain, caused him to be admired by all the people and nobles. After this, Sultan Bahlol also became thoroughly convinced that Nizam Khan was the ablest of his sons, so much so that he appointed him his successor.

When the news of Bahlol's death reached Prince Nizam Khan in Dehli, he left at Dehli one of his nobles, Jamal Khan, in whom he placed confidence, and determined to set forth himself. On the day he quitted Dehli, he first went to Shaikh Samau-d-din, one of the holy men of that age, for the purpose of requesting him to repeat the *fatiha*, and said, “O Shaikh ! I desire to study orthography and prosody with you.” He commenced accordingly, and began repeating these words by direction of his instructor, “May God render you fortunate in both worlds.” The Sultan said “Say that again.” He did so three times successively in Arabic. Then the Sultan kissed that reverend person's hand, and explained that

he was about to set forth at the summons of the nobles to assume the kingdom, and so he went away, considering this benediction as a favourable omen :

"The assertions of the pure are the interpretation of Fate,
For their hearts resemble the tablet and pen."

Prince Nizam Khan, by the advice of the principal chiefs, advanced with all expedition from Dehli to the town of Jalali, and sent the corpse of his father to Dehli.

On Friday, the 7th Sha'ban, A.H. 894, he was raised to the throne by the assistance of Khan Jahan, the Khan-khanan Farmuli, and other great chiefs, on an eminence near the Black River, or as it is called by the inhabitants of that district *Kali nai*. On that spot there is a building called the palace of Sultan Firuz, and there he became king in the eighteenth year of his age, with the title of Sultan Sikandar Ghazi.⁵ Sultan Sikandar was a most illustrious monarch and of a benevolent disposition; he was famous for his liberality, honour, and politeness; he had no affection for pomp and ceremonies, and cared not for processions and magnificent dresses. No one who was profligate or a bad character had access to him; he always associated with men of religion and the virtuous,

⁵ Nia'matu-lla (MS., p. 95) informs us that on his accession he gave a splendid festival, at which he presented fifty-three nobles each with a horse and an honorary dress, conferring upon them exalted *mansabs* and rich *jagirs*. He says also that Barback Shah was the elder brother, but this is contrary to the statement in the *Tarikh-i Daudi* and *Firishta*, though he is so represented in Gen. Briggs' Genealogical Table prefixed to the Lodi reigns.

Nizam-u-din Ahmad tells us, that the chiefs were by no means unanimous about his right of succession to the throne. Though he had been designated to it by Bahlol; many were anxious that the decision should be revoked, and his grandson, 'Azam Humayun nominated. He was objected by 'Isa Khan, a nephew of Bahlol's, on the ground of his mother Zaina being the daughter of a goldsmith. 'Isa, together with many other Afghans, gave the preference to Barbak Shah, on account of the greater purity of his blood. "What business," he exclaimed, "have goldsmiths' sons with government. since it is proverbial that monkeys make but bad carpenters,"—a speech for which he was sternly rebuked by Sikandar's warm partisan, Khan-khanan Lohani.—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

and was both inwardly pious and outwardly handsome; he did not give way to his desires, and was exceedingly God-fearing and benevolent to the people. He was very just and courageous, his equity beheld the weak and the strong with the same eye, and he was constantly employed in balancing evidence, deciding suits, arranging the affairs of the Empire, and trying to render his subjects happy; he personally assisted the wretched. After the afternoon prayer, he went into an assembly of Mullas, and then read the Holy Book. After being present at public prayer and the conclusion of the evening thanksgiving, he was in the habit of going to his *harem*, where he remained an hour. He then proceeded to his private chamber, where he seated himself, and remained awake the entire night, but slept at mid-day. He generally preferred the night for listening to the petitions of the needy; he also devoted a portion of it to regulating the affairs of the Empire, and in causing *farmans* to be written to the governors of provinces and letters to the monarchs of the time. Seventeen accomplished and learned men of tried merit were constantly with him in his private apartment. After midnight he was in the habit of calling for food, when these seventeen learned men, after washing their hands, seated themselves in front of the Sultan, who was himself seated on his couch. A large chair was then brought close to the bed, and the different dishes being placed on it the Sultan commenced eating; food was also placed before his seventeen companions, who were, however, forbidden to partake of it in his presence. When the King had finished, they carried their plates away to their houses, and ate there. Some writers assert that His Majesty, in order to keep himself in health, was then in the habit of secretly drinking wine.

He founded *masjids* throughout all his dominions, and appointed a preacher, a reader, and a sweeper to each; to all of whom he gave regular stipends. Every winter he sent clothes and shawls for the benefit of the

needy, and distributed a certain amount of money to them every Friday. Cooked and uncooked victuals were daily given to the poor at various places in the city by his command. During the blessed season of the month of Ramazan, and on the day of the Prophet's decease, he rejoiced the hearts of the necessitous and poor, and behaved towards them with royal liberality. He ordained that twice a year he should be furnished with detailed accounts of the meritorious poor of his Empire, whom he then supplied with means sufficient to support them for six months, each receiving according to his wants. During his reign, nobles, *shaikhs*, and men of learning from the lands of Arabia and Persia, of Hind and Bukhara, induced to do so by his favour and benevolence, took up their residence at Agra, where the King himself generally dwelt. During the fortunate reign of this monarch the fields were in a high state of cultivation, and merchants, peasants, and all God's creatures were enabled without danger to perform the duties of their respective occupations in ease and contentment. He always inquired strictly into the particulars of the lineage and ancestors of any one who came to him for service, and gave him an appointment corresponding to the dignity of his forefathers, bestowing a *jagir* without inspecting the applicant's horse and arms, and commanding him to equip himself from its revenues. The military profession was in his time a very honourable one. The public roads in his territory were so well secured that there was not a sign of highwaymen and robbers throughout all his dominions. He allotted lands to the infidels who submitted to the followers of Islam in their respective countries; and whoever rebelled or was contumacious, was considered guilty of treason, and was either slain or banished.

He was so zealous a Musulman that he utterly destroyed divers places of worship of the infidels, and left not a vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura, the mine of heathenism, and turned

their principal Hindu places of worship into caravanserais and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights,⁶ and all the Hindus in Mathura were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards, and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it. Every city thus conformed as he desired to the customs of Islam. In each quarter prayers were performed in public, and high and low were everywhere seized with a desire of acquiring knowledge. In Sikandar's time many tradesmen were wealthy, and so much rivalry in consequence existed amongst them, that each tried to exceed the other in his expenditure. One of the King's commands was, that twice a year money should be distributed from the royal treasury to the deserving poor of the different cities, and certain God-fearing persons were sent to inquire into the state and administer to the necessities of the unfortunate. He ordained that each *jagirdar* should possess all the revenues of his tenure, with the exception of those proceeding from *imlak* and *wazaif*. Thus were the holders of *aima* released by this single order of the Sultan, as no one now required to have his *farman* renewed. There was no interference in the concerns of any of the chiefs who went to the *wazir*' *diwan* and settled their accounts with him, having drawn them up in the manner most convenient to themselves. No one was allowed to press cattle from the villagers for the purpose of carriage.

It was the custom for every chief, when he heard of the coming of a royal order, to go out two or three *kos* to meet its bearer;⁷ a terrace was then erected, on which the messenger placed himself, whilst the nobleman

⁶ This is specially said of the famous idol of Nagarkot, by Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 86), and the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (MS., p. 64).

⁷ This is a Tatar custom, and prevails even now in China and other Eastern countries.

standing beneath received the *farman* in the most respectful manner with both hands, and placed it on his head and eyes; if it was to be read privately he did so, and if it was to be made known to the people, it was read from the pulpit of the Mosque. The annual procession of the spear of Salar Mas'ud he abolished in every province of his dominions, and peremptorily enjoined its discontinuance. Women also were forbidden to perform pilgrimages to tombs.⁸ Grain, merchandize, and goods of all descriptions were so cheap during his reign, that but small means enabled their possessor to live comfortably. On the festivals, or *'Tds*, and on the anniversary of the death of the Prophet (on whom be the peace and blessing of God!), he, by order, was furnished with a list of all the prisoners in his dominions, and he then released, by a written command, all those who were confined on account of balances of public revenue. If any one who had been oppressed demanded justice whilst he was out riding, he immediately demanded who the petitioner was. The agents of the various chiefs being always in attendance on him, would take the man by the hand, and use their best exertions to give him satisfaction. If he made any one a grant of a *jagir* he never removed him until a fault was proved against him. When a person had once been convicted of a crime, he never again gave him anything, but at the same time he did not cease to treat him with honour and kindness. If singers or performers greatly skilled in the science of music came to his Court, he never allowed them to display their talents in his presence. Miran Saiyid Ruh-ulla and Saiyid Ibn-i Rasul, two men who were great favourites, were commanded to station themselves in the

⁸ The *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (MS., p. 15) adds, that he put a stop to the display of *taziyas* during the Muharram; that the worship of *Sitala*, or the small-pox divinity, was abandoned in his time; that people were exceedingly generous in their donations to *fakirs*, and that if a *fakir* died worth *lacs* of rupees, his heirs succeeded to the property, and if there were no heirs, it was distributed amongst other *fakirs*.

neighbourhood of the Sultan's tent, and before them all the musicians used to come and perform. The Sultan was, however, in the habit of listening to the *surna*, and ten performers on it, called *shahnais*, played every night in the royal *darbar*, commencing at nine o'clock; they were ordered only to play these four tunes: 1 *Malikur*, 2 *Kaliyan*, 3 *Kanra*, 4 *Husaini*, and then cease for the evening; if they ever played other tunes, they were chastised.⁹

Every business had its appointed time, and an established custom was never changed; no one could possibly have found fault with any of his actions, with the exception of his shaving his beard. When he had once allowed an individual meat and drink, he never, till the close of his reign, made any alteration in the allowance. It is related that Shaikh 'Abdul Ghani, a man of eminence, came from Jaunpur to visit the Sultan during the hot weather, and that a portion of food was allotted to him, which, in consequence of the heat of the weather, was accompanied by six jars of *sharbat*, and that even when he came in winter-time the same quantity of *sharbat* was sent to him. He always behaved to the nobles and great men of his time in the way he did on the first day of the interview, whether they revisited him after the lapse of years, or remained with him doing daily service. The Sultan's conversation was under discipline, and he was never desultory. Every chief had his appointed post in his presence, where he always stood. He possessed a retentive memory. He daily received an account of the prices of all things, and an account of what had happened

⁹ Ahmad Yadgar says (MS., p. 88) that there were four of the Sultan's slaves who were excellent singers and performers, one on the *chang*, another on the *kanun*, another on the *tambur*, and another on the *been*; who were, moreover, very beautiful in their persons. He mentions only four *surnais*, and the names of these tunes are given as *Kaldara*, *Udana*, *Hasani*, and *Ramkali*. Razku-lla Muslitaki (MS., p. 51) names them *Gaurd*, *Kalyan*, *Kanra*, and *Muhan-i Husaini*.

in the different districts of his Empire. If he perceived the slightest appearance of anything wrong, he caused instant inquiries to be made about it. He generally resided at Agra; it is said by some that Agra became a city in his time, before which it had been a mere village, but one of old standing. The Hindus, indeed, assert that Agra was a strong place in the days of Raja Kans, who ruled in Mathura, and who confined every one who displeased him in the fort at that place, so that in course of time it had become the established State prison. In the year when the army of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Hindustan, he so ruined Agra, that it became one of the most insignificant villages in the land; after this, it improved from the time of Sultan Sikandar, and at length, in Akbar's time, became the seat of government of the Empire of Dehli, and one of the chief cities of Hindustan.

The noble who had the general direction of affairs in the reign of Sikandar¹⁰ bestowed districts and charitable gifts upon the learned and religious to an extent that had never been known in former reigns, notwithstanding the great extent of territory and the vast treasures. In his reign, business was carried on in a peaceful, honest, straightforward way. A new sort of life obtained, for people high and low were polite, and self-respect, integrity, and devotion to religion prevailed, like as had never been the case in former reigns. The study of the *belles lettres* was not neglected, and a general respect was paid to integrity and piety. Factory establishments were so encouraged that all the young nobles and soldiers were engaged in useful works (*kasb*). Under the orders of Sultan Sikandar, the *Argar-mahabedak*¹¹ on the science of medicine and the treatment of disease, was translated, and received the name of *Tibb-i Sikandari*. The book is the foundation of the

¹⁰ *Hāzrat mukhtar-i mutlak-i Sikandari.*

¹¹ *Arkirmhabadakh.*

practice of the physicians of Hind, and was thus brought into general use.¹²

Sultan Sikandar had six sons : the eldest, Ibrahim Khan, succeeded his father, with the title of Sultan Ibrahim, in the Empire of Dehli ; the second, Jalal Khan, became King of Jaunpur, and was styled Sultan Jalalu-d din ; the third, Isma'il Khan ; the fourth, Husain Khan ; the fifth, Mahmud Khan ; the sixth, Azam Humayun. As for the nobles of note, who were all men of dignity and might, and and were unequalled in their day in valour and skill, how can I give a list of them ? During his reign, innumerable Afghan chiefs attached themselves to him, and he treated the Afghans and those of his own tribe with the greatest kindness. Whenever he granted an allowance to one of his chiefs to supply his wants, he from that day placed confidence in him, and said, "I have sown seed, I shall lose nothing by it !" His nephews had no equal in bravery and liberality. All the nobles and soldiers of Sikandar were well satisfied ; each of his chiefs was appointed to the government of a district, and it was his especial desire to gain the goodwill and affections of the body of the people. For the sake of his officers and troops, he put an end to war and disputes with the other monarches and nobles of the period, and closed the road of contention and strife. He contented himself with the territory bequeathed him by his father, and passed the whole of his life in the greatest safety and enjoyment, and gained the hearts of both high and low. An account of several of the chiefs of Sikandar will be found in its proper place, after the completion of the relation of what happened during this reign.

¹² [On this subject the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* says, "Mian Bludh succeeded to the late Khawas Khan, and was confirmed in the dignity. He used to associate with learned men, and the great men of the age assembled round him. He got together fine calligraphists and learned men, and employed them in writing books upon every science. He brought (books) from Khurasan, and gave them to learned and good men. Writers were continually engaged in this work. He assembled the physicians of Hind and Khurasan, and collecting books upon the science of Medicine, he had a selection made. The book so composed received the name of *Tibb-i Sikan-dari*, and there is no work of greater authority in India."]

An account of certain events which occurred during the first year of the reign

It is said that in the Sambhal district a person was digging, and found an earthen jar, containing 5000 gold *mohurs*. Mian Kasim, the governor of Sambhal, took all of it away from him; upon which the sufferer sent a petition to the King, informing him of all that had happened. Sultan Sikandar, being a benevolent and excellent monarch, command all the gold to be given back to the finder. Mian Kasim then represented that he was not a proper person to receive so large an amount of money; upon which the King addressed a *farman* to Mian Kasim, saying, "O fool, He who has given it to him would not have done so had he been unworthy of it; all men are the servants of God, and He knows who is worthy, and who is not!" So all the gold was restored.

In the same way a husbandman, who was ploughing a field in Ajodhan, belonging to the holy Shaikh Muhammad, turned up a very large block of stone; he left his work, and went and related this to the Shaikh, who sent some persons to inquire into the matter. On digging up the earth they found the stone, raised it up, and discovered a well beneath it. They then replaced the stone in its former position, and informed Shaikh Muhammad, who mounted his horse and came to the spot in person, and removed the stone. On descending into the well, they perceived it to be full of treasure, which the Shaikh caused to be carried away to his own dwelling. Some of the golden plates and vessels bore the seal of Sultan Sikandar Zu-l-karnain (Alexander the Great). This led people to suppose that the treasure had been buried during the reign of that monarch. 'Ali Khan, the name of the chief who governed the territories of Lahore and Dibalpur, wrote a letter, and sent it to the Shaikh, saying: "This country is in my charge, as also any hidden treasure found in it." The Shaikh replied, "If the great God had given it to you, I should not have had anything to say to you; as He has

been pleased to bestow it on me, no portion of it belongs to you." 'Ali Khan wrote an account of this affair to the Sultan, and represented that "a royal treasure had been discovered on the lands of Shaikh Muhammad." Sultan Sikandar said : "What have you got to do with it ? Why do you relate what has happened to the *darwesh* ?" Shaikh Muhammad also sent one of his men with some gold vessels, stamped with the seal of "Zul-karnain," to the King, telling how they had been found, and asking for orders how to dispose of them. Sultan Sikandar wrote in reply, desiring him to keep them all, and said, "You and I have each an account to render to the most High God, who is the owner of the world, and who gives to whomsoever He will."¹³

If Sultan Sikandar commanded his ministers to make over a *jagir* of a *lac* of *tankas* to any individual, and if after seizin he received information that its revenue amounted to ten *lacs* of *tankas*, he always inquired whether the person had received it from him, or had taken possession of it himself ; and when told that His Majesty had bestowed it, he replied, "Let his good fortune remain untouched." A *jagir* worth seven *lacs* of *tankas* was ordered to be given to Malik Badru-d din Bahlm, and he received a *pargana* yielding that amount. In the first year its revenue amounted to nine *lacs* of *tankas*, and he informed the King that he had collected more than the assigned revenue—seeing that a *jagir* which was said to produce only seven *lacs* had given nine—and requested instructions relative to its disposal. The Sultan said, "Keep it yourself." In the next year the revenue reached eleven *lacs*, and Malik Bahlm again sent to tell His Majesty, who ordered him to keep it. In the third year he collected fifteen *lacs*, and again sent information to the King, who replied, "The

¹³ Razku-lla Mushtaki and Ahmad Yadgar give both these anecdotes, and the latter concludes with an unusually bold remark : "God be praised, for endowing the Sultan with such a generous spirit ! In these days, if any one were to find even a few copper *tankas*, our rulers would immediately pull down his house to examine every nook and corner for more !"

jagir is yours, as is also all the money it produces ; why, therefore, are you always mentioning the subject to me ?" Marvellous was the integrity of the Khans of that period, and the magnanimity and benevolence of the monarch of the age.

So great was Sultan Sikandar's justice, that no man could even look sternly at another. His *wakil*, Darya Khan Lohani, was directed to remain all day, until the first watch of the night, on the seat of justice ; the *Kazi* with twelve of the '*Ulama* were always present within the King's own palace. All cases brought before the court of law were tried before these twelve wise men, who decided them and wrote decisions, of the nature of which the Sultan received immediate information. Certain young slaves were specially appointed for this service, and from morning until the close of the sitting, reports of everything that occurred in court were brought to His Majesty the instant it happened.

One day a *saiyid* from the district of Ardal, which is twenty or thirty *kos* from Panna on the Agra side, sought redress, because Mian Malik, the *jagirdar* of the *pargana*, had resumed his land, and withheld it from him. The Sultan commanded Mian Bhua¹⁴ to inquire into the matter, and make known who was in the right. This dispute lasted two months ; after which period the Sultan asked, "What has happened to you, that you cannot settle this affair ? Until it is answered let no one leave the court to-day." Mian Malik, and the *wazir's diwan*, and the '*Ulama*, discussed the matter until the third watch of the night, and accounts of what they were doing were constantly sent to the Sultan, until the case was determined, and the right discovered to be on the *saiyid's* side, who had been oppressed. The Sultan directed Mian Malik to be asked why he had disobeyed the Sultan's orders by tyrannizing over the weak, and resuming *wazaif* and *imlak* tenures, which he had expressly reserved in all *jagir* grants.

¹⁴ The "Mian Bhudh" of the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki*.

Mian Malik being ashamed hung down his head, and said : "I have committed a fault." He was then obliged to repeat this three times, "Malik is guilty and a tyrant, and the *saiyid* is an oppressed person." When he had said this three times, the Sultan said, "You have been disgraced in the hall of justice, and that is your punishment." He then had his *jagir* taken from him, and he never received another as long as he lived.

*An account of certain other events which occurred during
the year of His Majesty's accession*

IN the first year of his reign Sultan Sikandar had a design of conquering Bayana,¹⁵ which task he effected, like a mighty monarch, in a very short time, and then returned speedily to Dehli. On the third day after his arrival, he was playing at *chaugan*. Whilst he was in the *chaugan* ground, news was brought from Jaunpur that Barbak Shah was coming from that city with a numerous army. Sultan Sikandar sent Isma'il Khan Lohani to Barbak Shah at Jaunpur, to make pacific overtures, and then started after him in person, in the direction of Kampila and Patiali. 'Isa Khan, the governor of that district came forth to oppose him. When both parties were engaged, 'Isa Khan received a wound, from the effects of which he died in a few days.¹⁶

Sultan Sikandar advanced thence towards Barbak Shah, who also had collected his troops and prepared to

¹⁵ Nia'matu-lla, in his *Makhzam-i Afghani*, says nothing of this expedition to Bayana, but informs us that his first expedition was against Rapri on the Jumna (MS., p. 96), where 'Alam Khan, his brother, had fortified himself, but afterwards fled to 'Ali Khan and Tatar Khan Lodi at Patiali. Rapri was made over to Khan-khanan Lohani; and the Sultan then went to Etawa, where he passed the rainy season. He bestowed Etawa upon 'Alam Khan, in order to detach him from the interests of their nephew 'Azam Humayun. Rai Kishan received Patiali as a reward for deserting the cause of Barbak Shah.

¹⁶ 'Isa Khan was Sikandar's cousin, and had strongly opposed his succession to the throne. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* tells us that this expedition preceded that to Rapri.

encounter him, leaving Jaunpur for that purpose. Both sides met and engaged.¹⁷ During the fight, a holy *kalandar* appeared, who seized Sultan Sikandar's hand, and said, "The victory is with thee!" The Sultan withdrew his hand with an expression of disgust. The *darwesh* said, "I give you a glad omen, and the joyful tidings of success! Why do you withdraw your hand?" The Sultan said, "When there is strife between two parties of the religion of Islam, you ought not to side with one, but to say that the victory will remain with those whose success will produce the greatest benefit to religion, and you ought to solicit the Almighty to grant victory to him who will treat the servants of the Lord best!"

After a fierce battle, Barbak Shah's army was defeated, and he fled thence to Badaun, to which place he was pursued by Sultan Sikandar, who besieged him there.¹⁸ Barbak Shah excused himself and submitted, and Sultan Sikandar conciliated him, and took him to Jaunpur, where he seated him again on the throne of the Eastern monarchy, as before; but he distributed the *parganas* of the Jaunpur country amongst his nobles, and left governors of his own everywhere; he also appointed men of trust to remain with Barbak Shah. Thence he went to Kalpi, which place he resumed from his nephew 'Azam Humayun, and

¹⁷ Near Kanauj, we are informed by Nia'matu-lla.

¹⁸ A curious anecdote is related respecting this action. Barbak and his general Kala Pahar drew out in order of battle to meet his brother, and an action ensued in which Kala Pahar was taken prisoner. Sikandar Lodi, on seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embracing him, said he esteemed him as his father, and begged he would look on him as his son. Kala Pahar, overcome by this unexpected honour, replied, that except his life, he had nothing to offer in return, and trusted that he might be employed, and have an opportunity of evincing his gratitude. He was accordingly mounted on one of the King's own horses, and instantly led a charge of cavalry against the party whose cause he had before espoused, which in a great measure led to the King's success. The troops of Barbak seeing Kala Pahar charging them, and imagining that all his division had also gone over to the enemy, took to flight. Prince Barbak himself displayed great gallantry, but fled to Badaun on being deserted by his troops. His son Mubarak Khan was made prisoner, and Sikandar pursued his brother to Badaun.

bestowed it upon Mahmud Khan Lodi. He then advanced for the purpose of securing possession of the countries and districts belonging to Bayana.¹⁹ After seizing the whole of that territory, he returned in a short time to Dehli.

On the third day after his arrival, he was again playing at *chaugan*, and was standing with the bat in his hand, intending to proceed with the game, when news arrived that the *zamindars* of the district of Jaunpur, led by a Hindu named Juga,²⁰ and numbering nearly 100,000 men, horse and foot, had attacked and defeated Mubarak Khan Lohani, and slain his brother, and that Mubarak Khan had been seized by Mulla Khan at the ferry of Illahabas, which at that time was called Pyag, and that Barbak Shah, learning how powerful these people were, had gone to Mian Muhammad Farmuli, nicknamed "the Black Mountain," at Daryabad.

When Sultan Sikandar heard of these events, he threw down the *chaugan* bat, and went from the field to Khan Jahan Lodi, and told him all that happened, at the same time asking what he ought to do. Khan Jahan said, "Food is just ready, eat a little of it as a good omen, and then set out for Jaunpur." The King replied: "I will eat after the first stage." On quitting Khan Jahan's house, he went to the royal palace; and then causing the scarlet tents to be pitched, he proceeded with such celerity, that he came up with Juga on the tenth day. When he encamped near the water of Kudi, a scout brought information concerning the rebel army. The Sultan asked how many *kos* Juga was from this place, and he was told that he was near at hand. On this, the Sultan ordered an immediate attack; some of the chief nobles recommended waiting until the arrival of the army, and the Sultan inquired how many troops had kept pace with him. The

¹⁹ Some other intermediate events will be found among the Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi*.

²⁰ It will be seen from the Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi*, that he must have been the leader of the Bachgoti Rajputs.

Bakhshi answered that there were only 500 horsemen. He said, "The fortune of Islam is in the ascendant ; these men will suffice." He then repeated the *Fatiha-i Khair*, and mounted his horse. After proceeding a short distance, another messenger arrived, from whom the King inquired how far Juga was off. He answered, "Not more than three *kos*." The King asked what force he had with him ? The man replied, 300,000 foot and 15,000 horse. The Sultan said, "Has he received intelligence of my coming ? He answered, "Not as yet."

The Sultan directed those who were with him to advance with all possible speed, saying, "If he does not seek safety in flight, by God's favour he will fall into my hands." They advanced quietly two *kos* farther ; when they were only one *kos* distant from the enemy, another spy came to tell His Majesty that Juga and the other rascals, having just heard of the Sultan's coming, had run away and taken nothing away with them. The Sultan said, "If he had remained after being told, he would have seen what he would have seen." The King, on arriving at Juga's tent, found even his clothes lying there ; for the dread of His Majesty caused the assembly of the rebels to disperse, and much booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. Sultan Sikandar followed him as far as the fort of Jund,²¹ where Sultan Husain Sharki was, and with him the Hindu Juga took refuge.

Sultan Sikandar encamped at a short distance from the fort, and wrote thus to Sultan Husain, "You are in the place of my uncle ; all that happened between you and Sultan Bahlol has passed. I bear no enmity to you, and would treat you with respect ; may this fort and land which you have taken possession of always belong to you. I have come hither to punish and chastise the rebel Juga ; if you undertake his chastisement yourself, so much the better ! If not, turn him out, that I may give him the punishment he merits ; he is an infidel, and I am there-

²¹ Var. Jamund.

fore convinced that you will not side with him." When this reached Sultan Husain Sharki, he sent one of his chief nobles, Mir Saiyid Khan, as an ambassador to Sultan Sikandar with this answer, "Juga is my servant, and thy father Bahlol was a soldier; I fought with him sword in hand! You are a silly child, and if you are guilty of any folly, I will strike you with my shoe instead of my sword." When Sultan Sikandar had heard these words, he said, "At first, I styled him my uncle, and I still adhere to that piece of civility. I desire to punish the infidel; if he assists him, I shall then be obliged to act. I have never boasted, and all Musulmans know it. With the blessing of God, the mouth that has uttered the word shoe, will inself be stricken with a shoe."

Sultan Sikandar said to Miran Saiyid Khan, "You are children of the Prophet (on whom be the mercy of God!), why do you not teach him to be reasonable, since he will afterwards have cause to repent?" Miran answered, "I am his servitor; what he chooses is my choice." Sultan Sikandar said, "Fortune and Sense are the servants of each other; whosoever suffers a change of fortune, also loses his sense! you are excused. To-morrow, please God, after his flight, when you come a captive before me, I will cause you to recollect what I have said; but it will be better that you should understand at once all I have said to you." After speaking thus, he gave Saiyid Khan permission to depart, and went to consult with his nobles; they all advised war, and after repeating the *Fatiha*, went to their places. Whilst all the great chiefs were present Sultan Sikandar had said, "You acted for Sultan Bahlol, as was proper for brethren and faithful subjects to do; in this affair of mine, I am certain you will not fail to do your best for me."

On the following day, when both armies were ranged in order of battle, the skirmishers consisted of men of the Lodi and Sahu-khail tribes, whilst the men of the Farmuli tribe were stationed on the right and left. The Sarwanis were in the rear of the force. 'Umar Khan Sarwani, one

of the bravest men of the time, commanded the vanguard of the army. Sultan Sikandar was mounted on an elephant, in order that he might behold the enemy's forces ; and while he was encouraging his men, suddenly his eye fell on the fort of Jund ; and he exclaimed, "Is this the citadel which has made him so proud ? I will yet forbear, if he will understand his position." But shortly after, Sultan Husain brought forth his army from the fort, and attacked the advanced troops of the force. In a brief space of time, after the commencement of the encounter, and after a short contest, Sultan Husain fled, and Miran Saiyid Khan, who had acted as ambassador, was, with other nobles, taken prisoner, and brought with disgrace before Sultan Sikandar. When the Sultan beheld him, and saw that he was bare-headed and on foot, he turned his face away from him, and said, "Give him a turban, and bring him mounted on a horse into my presence." When this was done as had been ordered, the Sultan said to Mian Saiyid Khan and the other chiefs, "May mercy be with you, since you have shown the utmost fidelity in this matter. As your master was void of sense, what could you do ? Now, set your minds at ease." He gave two curtains, one tent, and a canopy supported on four poles, two horses, ten camels, and a bed and its appurtenances, to each of the chiefs of Sultan Husain who had been captured. When the tents had been erected, he ordered that the chiefs should be conducted to him.

When Sultan Sharki had fled after his defeat at Jund, Mubarak Khan Lohani requested permission to pursue him. The King ordered inquiries to be made regarding the direction he had taken. Mubarak Khan stated that some of his men who had been despatched by him for the purpose of inquiry, were aware of the direction of his flight. Upon this the King commanded him to wait until the men who had also been sent by himself should return with information. Again Mubarak Khan spoke, and said, "Peace be with the monarch of the universe ! Delay is not good." The King answered, "He hath not fled from

you, but from the wrath of God ; he is the same Sultan Husain who routed you at the ferry of Kunjh. That Deity who has smitten him to the ground, and raised you from it by giving you success, still watches over his affairs. Boast not, but have patience. Sultan Husain's pride has reduced him to his present condition." These words were spoken by Sultan Sikandar at the early age of eighteen or nineteen years. He who gives without asking, had endowed him with wonderful meekness and forbearance.

Sultan Husain fled towards Bihar, and Sultan Sikandar went to Jaunpur ; and leaving there Barbak Shah, the Sultan took his departure to Oudh, where he spent nearly a month in hunting and amusing himself. About this time, fresh news arrived to the effect that Barbak Shah, on account of the superior force of the *zamindars*, was unable to hold Jaunpur. Sultan Sikandar commanded that Muhammad Farmuli, 'Azam Humayun, and the Khan-khanan Lohani should go to Jaunpur by the road of Oudh, whilst Mubarak Khan Lohani should proceed through Karra, for the purpose of making Barbak Shah prisoner and sending him to Court. He was accordingly seized and brought before the King, after which he was given in charge to Haibat Khan Sarwani and 'Umar Khan. The Sultan then proceeded to the fort of Chunar, with the intention of chastising the rebels of that district. When the Sultan's army arrived there, the Raja, after a slight resistance, thought fit to fly ; during his flight, this fugitive Raja, by name Bhed, went to hell. His Majesty desired to advance farther, but opium and poppy-heads had become excessively dear, and he had lost many of the horses used during this expedition ; in fact, each man possessing a stable of 100 horses had lost ninety. Sultan Sikandar halted some months at Jaunpur to recruit his army,²² * * *

²² Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 38) represents that, shortly after this unsuccessful expedition, he returned to Dehli, whence, at the close of the rains, he moved with an army against Malwa, where Sultan-

During Sultan Sikandar's stay at Jaunpur, his army became totally disorganized, and the *zamindars* of that place wrote to Sultan Husain, saying, "Since no horses are left in Sikandar's army, and there is no cavalry to oppose you, you ought to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity." Sultan Husain accordingly advanced against Sultan Sikandar with a vast force and 100 elephants. The latter, perceiving the unprepared state of his troops, sent the Khan-khanan to Salbahan to persuade him to join him. When the enemy were thirteen *kos* off, Sultan Sikandar, notwithstanding the condition of his army, proceeded against Sultan Husain. Meanwhile, Salbahan also arrived with his troops to the assistance of Sultan Sikandar. After a contest between the two parties, Sultan Husain was defeated and pursued by Sultan Sikandar as far as Bihar, where he received intimation that Sultan Husain had gone to Kahal-ganw, in the country of Lakhnauti.²³ The province of Bihar fell into the hands of Sikandar, and after establishing his officers in that territory, he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Sharafu-d din Yahya, of Munir, and having caused the *fakirs* and dwellers of that place to rejoice, he arrived at Patna. About this time, Khan Jahan, one of his chief nobles, yielded up his life into the hands of the angel of death, and his eldest son Ahmad Khan was distinguished by the title of 'Azam Humayun.

His Majesty having issued orders for his troops to assemble again, he marched against the King of Bengal, by name Sultan 'Alau-d din, who sent his own son with a strong army to oppose him. When the hostile parties approached each other, proposals of peace were made, and

Mahmud made his submission, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of several elephants besides cash. He adds, "In short, from Jalalabad, near Kabul, to Mandu, and from Udiapur to Patna, the coin was struck and prayers pronounced in his name, having no rival or partner in the realm. He passed his time in pleasure and festivity at Dehli, the centre of his Empire."

²³ The nature and order of these events are very differently related in the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi*.

it was agreed that neither party should injure the other's possessions, and that 'Alau-d din should deny refuge to any of Sikandar's enemies. Sultan Sikandar returned thence to Darweshpur, where he stayed some months, and assigned that district to 'Azam Humayun. At this period grain became very dear, and to relieve the people he released them throughout all his dominion from furnishing the usual *zakat* of corn, and issued orders for its abolition. From that time it was forbidden, until the reign of the Khalifa of the age, King Jahangir.

From that place Sultan Sikandar appointed a large force to proceed against the Raja of Bhata,²⁴ which he followed in person. Previous to this, the Sultan had demanded the Raja's daughter, but he refused to give her to the King, who, to avenge himself for this old grievance, now invaded his country, and entirely destroyed all signs of cultivation. His most valiant soldiers showed their courage at the fort of Bandhu, the strongest castle of that district, and Sultan Sikandar having utterly devastated and ruined the whole of that territory, went back to Jaunpur, where no foe remained. He thence directed his course towards Sambhal, where he abode during four years, during which time he was chiefly employed in pageants and festivals.²⁵ * * *

Whilst Sultan Sikandar was staying in the district of

²⁴ This is a very difficult name to restore, and none of the original authors have given it correctly, ringing the changes upon Patna, Panna, and Thatta. General Briggs (vol. i., p. 573) has "Salivahn Raja of Punna." Dr. Dorn (p. 59) has "Salbahen" and "Panna." The real name of this tract is "Bhata," or "Bhat-Ghora," or simply "Ghora," as it is entered in the *Ain-i Akbari* without specification. The mention of the fort of Bandhu, now better known as Bandhwa, leaves us no room to doubt what country is meant; but in many other passages, as noticed elsewhere, we are frequently left in great perplexity. Firishta assigns this expedition to the year 904 H.—[See Glossary, vol. ii., p. 164].

²⁵ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* (M.S., p. 104) tells us that it was in the year 905 H. that he went to Sambhal and remained four years, as he found the climate agree with him, and game was plentiful.

Sambhal, he passed most of his time in playing at *chaugan*. One day, when the Sultan went forth to amuse himself at *chaugan*, the bat of Darya Khan Sarwani struck Sulaiman's head and broke it. This caused a quarrel amongst them. Khizr, Sulaiman's brother, to avenge his brother, seized the bat and struck Haibat Khan's head, so that there arose a great tumult and uproar. The Khan-khanan consoled Haibat Khan, and took him home. The Sultan quitted the field, and returned to the palace. Four days after he again went to play at *chaugan*. In the middle of the road he found Shams Khan, a relative of Haibat Khan, standing furiously enraged; who, when he saw Khizr, Sulaiman's brother, struck him over the head with the bat. For this, Shams Khan was severely beaten by order of the King, who then turned back home. After this he became suspicious of the Afghan chiefs.²⁶ Certain loyal nobles were in the habit of keeping guard over His Majesty every night; but twentytwo individuals of rank and name conspired together, and formed treacherous and malicious designs. They proposed to raise Prince Fath Khan, the son of Sultan Bahlol, to the throne, and mutually swore to effect this. The aforesaid Prince related the circumstance to Shaikh Taha and to his own mother, and made known the names of the conspirators. Shaikh Taha and the Prince's mother, by means of good advice, dissuaded the Prince from engaging himself in the plot; and it was agreed that he should take the list of names to the King, and thus cleanse his skirt from the accusation of rebellion. He did so, and gave Sultan Sikandar information of the evil intentions of those people. The King, with the aid of his ministers, ferreted

²⁶ It is hinted elsewhere, that this disaffection arose from many Afghan chiefs having taken offence at the rigid inspection of Muhammad Khan Lodi's accounts during his administration of Jaunpur, and from the King's having demanded the balance from him, when a great defalcation was discovered. This is probable and characteristic, as a common partnership in roguery makes even Afghans wondrous sympathetic.

them out, exiled them to different parts of his dominions, and thus put an end to their seditious designs.

It is related in the *Akbar Shahi*, that there came a Brahman,²⁷ by name Laudhan, who dwelt in the village of Kaner, who had one day asserted in the presence of Musulmans that Islam was true, as was also his own religion. This speech of his was noised abroad, and came to the ears of the 'Ulama. Kazi Piyara and Shaikh Badr, who resided at Lakhnauti, gave *fatwas* which did not coincide respecting the merits of the case. Consequently 'Azam Humayun, the governor of that district, sent the Brahman, the Kazi, and Shaikh Badr, all three into the King's presence at Sambal. Sultan Sikandar took great pleasure in disputations on religious questions, and on this occasion summoned all the wise men of note from every quarter. Mulla 'Abdu-lla, the son of Mulla Ilahdad, Saiyid Muhammad, and Mian Kadan, from Dehli, all the *Mullas* in short of his empire, were summoned to Sambhal, and the assembly of the learned who were always attached to the stirrup of His Majesty were also present on this occasion. After investigating the matter, the 'Ulama determined that he should be imprisoned and converted to Muhammadanism, or suffer death, and, since the Brahman refused to apostatize, he was accordingly put to death by the decree of the 'Ulama. The Sultan, after rewarding the learned casuists, gave them permission to depart.

In that year, the Sultan sent Khawas Khan to take possession of the fort of Dhulpur. The Raja of that place advanced to give battle, and daily fighting took place.²⁸ The instant His Majesty heard of the firm countenance shown by the *rai* of Dhulpur in opposing the royal army, he went there in person; but on his arrival

²⁷ H. H. Wilson surmises that he was a disciple of Kabir.—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi., p. 55.

²⁸ The Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi* will show that several events, both before and after the capture of Dhulpur, have been omitted from the *Tarikh-i Daudi*.

near Dhulpur, the *rai* made up his mind to fly without fighting; and, after leaving a body of his retainers in the fort, he went to Gwalior. Those Hindus who remained in the fort, finding themselves unable to maintain their position, quitted the fort at midnight and fled, and Sultan Sikandar entered the place at sunrise. He offered up suitable thanksgivings for his success, and the royal troops spoiled and plundered in all directions, rooting up all the trees of the gardens which shaded Dhulpur to the distance of seven *kos*. Sultan Sikandar stayed there during one month, erected a mosque on the site of an idol temple, and then set off towards Agra. When he arrived at that seat of government, he allowed all the chiefs to depart to their *jagirs*. About this period, on Sunday the 3rd of Safar, 911 H. (July, 1505 A.D.), a dreadful earthquake occurred at Agra, the very hills trembled, and large and substantial buildings were utterly destroyed. The living thought that the day of judgment had arrived, and the dead that their resurrection was at hand. A poet has written some verses on the subject of this earthquake; this is one of them:

"In 911 an earthquake rendered the Agra territory a desert."

Such an earthquake had never been witnessed in Hindusthan. From the days of Adam to the time of Sultan Sikandar, no one could remember a similar one; and from that period earthquakes have been frequent in Hind. Sultan Sikandar passed the rainy season of that year at Agra. After the rising of the star Canopus, he assembled his army, and set forth to take possession of Gwalior and the territories belonging to it. In a short space of time he took most of the Gwalior districts; and after building mosques in the places of idol-temples, returned towards Agra. But the troops were much harassed by the narrowness and unevenness of the roads, and at one spot where he was compelled to halt, in order to admit of the people passing at their leisure, the want of water was so severely felt, that, both on that account,

and the crowding together and jostling of a vast number of cattle, many people perished. It is said, that on that day a jar of water sold for fifteen *tankas*. Some people, when in their excessive thirst they found water, drank to such an extent that they died, whilst others expired from the want of it. They were counted by order of the Sultan, and found to number 800 persons.

Sultan Sikandar, after the lapse of two years, in 913 A.H. (1507 A.D.), wrote a *farman* to Jalal Khan, the governor of Kalpi, directing him to take possession of the fort of Narwar, and to assemble his troops and besiege it with all possible expedition. It was the custom of Sultan Sikandar, whenever he appointed an army to proceed on a distant expedition, to send daily two *farmans* to it; one used to arrive in the morning, directing the troops to march and to halt at a certain place indicated; towards evening another used to arrive, pointing out what they were to do where they were encamped. When the army was at a distance of even 500 *kos*, this rule was never infringed, and post-horses (*dak chauki*) were always kept ready at each *sarai*. Jalal Khan Lodi, by the Sultan's command, besieged Narwar, where Sultan Sikandar also joined him with great expedition. On the second day the King rode forth to see the strength of the besieged fortress, and the operations carrying on against it. Jalal Khan divided his men into three divisions, and placed them in the King's way, that he might be satisfied with the appearance of his troops; one division of foot, another of horsemen, a third of elephants. Sultan Sikandar inspected them, and was not a little astonished at their numbers. He consequently made up his mind gradually to subvert the power of Jalal Khan, and remove him from his government. The siege of the fort was protracted for one year; it was no less than eight *kos* in length. Men were daily slain on either side. After the time above mentioned, the defenders of the place were compelled, by the want of water and scarcity of grain, to ask for mercy, and they were allowed to go forth with

their property ; but the Sultan destroyed their idol-temples, and erected mosques on their sites. He then appointed stipends and pensions for the learned and pious who dwelt at Narwar, and gave them dwellings there. He remained six months encamped below the fort.

The Sultan having satisfied himself that the citadel of Narwar was a very formidable stronghold, one that could not be retaken if it fell into the hands of an enemy, he raised another fortified wall all round it, so as effectually to preserve it from the attempts of a foe. And having thus freed his mind from the apprehension of danger, he turned his face towards the fort of Agra.²⁰ On his return march, Nia'mat Khatun, the consort of Kutb Khan, Sultan Bahlol's cousin, arrived, in company with Prince Jalal Khan, in the camp of Sultan Sikandar, who went to visit them, and tried to gain their good-will. Some days after, he appointed the *sarkar* of Kalpi to be the Prince's *jagir*, and at the time of his departure favoured him with a present of 120 horses and fifteen elephants, together with

²⁰ The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi* (M.S., p. 123) informs us that he left Narwar on the 28th Sha'ban, 914 H. (Dec. 1508 A.D.). The events of the two following years will be found recorded in the Extracts from that work. But between 917 and his death in 923 (1517 A.D.), we have no information of his movements, if we except the following passage, taken from Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. i., p. 583 :— "At this time Buhjat Khan, governor of Chanderi, on the part of the King of Malwa, perceiving the imbecility of his master, Sultan Mahmud, made overtures to place himself under the Delhi government. Sikandar Lodi accordingly deputed Imadu-l Mulk to assist Buhjat Khan in his revolt ; soon after which, the King issued a proclamation, announcing the acquisition of Chanderi to his dominions. Deeming it desirable, also, to make some alterations among the public officers of that province, the King deputed Saiyid Khan Lodi, Shaikh Jamal Farmuli, and Rai Ugar Sin Kachhwaha, together with Khizr Khan and Khwaja Ahmad, to proceed to Chanderi ; and these officers succeeded in occupying effectually that district for the government of Delhi. Muhammad Khan, the Prince of Malwa, although considered ostensibly the chief Chanderi, was, in fact, dispossessed of all authority, and confined to the city, while the supremacy of Buhjat Khan, the Malwa governor, being usurped by the Delhi officers, he left his government and came to Court. At this period, the King having reason to suspect the conduct of Husain Khan Farmuli, *naib* of Saharan, he deputed Haji Sarang, with some troops, into that quarter, with orders to gain

dresses of honour and ready money; he then dismissed the Prince and Khatun, and directed them to proceed to Kalpi, after which he continued his route in the direction of Agra.

During his reign everything was cheap, and safety and security prevailed. He was busied with affairs from day-break until evening and sleeping time. During his reign the hand of oppression was not stretched out over the *zamindars* of Hind, and all obeyed and submitted to him. The reign of Sikandar was an extraordinary one, and the people of that age were born under a fortunate star to possess such a ruler as the Sultan.

“Upon every nation of which God approves
He bestows a virtuous ruler.
If He desires to render a land desolate,
He places it in the grasp of a tyrant.”

The death of Sultan Sikandar

As men live not eternally, and as no confidence can be placed in earthly possessions, at this time the Sultan fell ill. It is said the origin of his disease was this. One day Haji ‘Abdu-l Wahab said to Sultan Sikandar, “You are a

over the *naib's* troops, and to seize his person. Husain Khan became acquainted with the King's intentions; and contriving his escape, sought an asylum with ‘Alau-d din Shah Purbi, King of Bengal. In the year 922, ‘Ali Khan Nagori, governor of Suisapor, entered into a plot with the Prince Daulat Khan of Malwa, governor of Rantambhor, who promised to deliver that fortress to the King of Dehli, if he should come in person to take possession. Sikandar Lodi, overjoyed at this intelligence, proceeded towards Bayana, to which place the governor of Rantambhor came to meet him, and was honourably received; but ‘Ali Khan Nagori, disappointed in the attainment of some objects on which he had calculated as a reward for bringing this affair to bear, resolved to prevent its accomplishment, and used his influence with the governor to retract his promise. The King, ascertaining the true cause of this change, disgraced ‘Ali Nagori and deprived him of his government of Suisapor, which he conferred on his brother, Abu Bakr; and Sikandar Lodi was obliged to return to Agra without obtaining possession of Rantambhor.”

From the Malwa history it appears that these proceedings of Buhjat Khan occurred between 918 and 921 H.; but Chanderi, though temporarily occupied during this interval, was not at that time permanently incorporated in the kingdom of Dehli.

Musulman monarch, and yet wear no beard ; it is contrary to the institutions of Islam, and particularly improper in a king." Sultan Sikandar replied, "I intend wearing one ; and if it please the Most High, I will do so." His excellency Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab said :

"In doing what is right make no delay."

The Sultan said, "My beard is thin ; if I allow it to grow, it will look ill, and men will scoff at me, and will be thus guilty of sin. I do not desire that Musulmans should commit sin, especially when I am the cause." Haji 'Abdu-l Wahab answered, "I will pass my hand over your face, and if it please God, your beard will become a fine one ; all other beards will salute it, and who will dare laugh at it then ?" Sultan Sikandar hung down his head, and made no reply. The Haji said, "O King of the Universe, I speak what is right in your presence, why do you not answer ?" The Sultan said, "When my *pir*, or spiritual guide, orders me, I will wear one." "Who is your *pir* ?" returned the Haji. "He is a man," said the Sultan, "who occasionally come to see me. He resides in the jungle of Manga Sassu, in the *pargana* of Jalesar." Haji 'Abdu-l Wahab said : "Does he wear a beard ?" "No," replied the King. The Haji said, "When I see him I will convince him that he is in the wrong ; you pay speedy attention to this." The Sultan gave no answer, but turned away from the Haji, and closed his lips with the seal of silence. The Haji arose and left the assembly, repeating the *salam alaik*. The Sultan said, after the Haji's departure, "the Shaikh mistakes his position in reading me lectures ; and presumes upon the favour which I show him. He thinks that the people who present themselves before him and kiss his feet do it of themselves. He cannot understand this, that were I to cause any one of my slaves to sit down on a litter, and command all the nobles to place it on their shoulders, they would do so without hesitation." Shaikh 'Abdu-l Jalal, the son of Saiyid Ahmad, was present when this occurred, and he reported

this speech to Haji 'Abdu-l Wahab. The Haji placed his hand on 'Abdu-l Jalal's shoulder, and said, "This speech of his, in which he compares me, a descendant of the prophet, with one of his own slaves, will one day, please God, stick in his throat, rest assured of that."³⁰ The Haji left Agra and went to Dehli, without taking leave of the King; and a short time after his departure, Sultan Sikandar was taken ill with a disease of the throat, which daily became worse.

The Sultan perceived the alteration in his health, and asked Shaikh Ladan Danishmand, who acted as his *imam*, what was the expiation of these sins—the omission of prayer and fasting, the shaving the beard, drinking wine, and cutting off men's noses and ears, and requested him to write his opinion and send it. Shaikh Ladan wrote it in detail, and sent it to the Sultan, who commanded the historiographers (*waki'-navis*) to search in the histories of his reign, from its very commencement, for any record of the commission by His Majesty of any sins of these descriptions, and after taking an account of their frequency and degree, to draw up, with Shaikh Ladan's assistance, a careful estimate as to how much gold he was required to give in order to make proper atonement for these transgressions. Shaikh Ladan made the necessary researches, and informed the Sultan, who ordered the treasurer to give to the 'Ulama such gold as did not belong to the public treasury. The 'Ulama were astonished, and said to the treasurer, "How was this sum, kept apart from the public treasury, acquired?" The treasurer replied, "The neighbouring sovereigns were in the habit of sending rarities to the Sultan, and some of the nobles used to send presents along with their petitions. An account of these was made yearly, and presented to the King, who directed that the sums realized by them should be kept separate, in order that the money might be made use of at his

³⁰ Rizku-lla Mushtaki (M.S., p. 59) and Ahmad Yadgar (M.S., p. 108), who report the same anecdote, make the meaning plainer than it is in the *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, which is obscure in this passage.

pleasure. This day he has commanded these reserved funds to be expended." Upon hearing this, the whole of the 'Ulama began to praise and extol his virtues.³¹

Sultan Sikandar became weaker every day, but his zeal stimulated him to continue the discharge of the duties of the empire. However, by degrees, his illness arrived at such a pitch that his throat would allow him neither to swallow food nor to drink, and the passage of his breath was stopped. His death took place on Sunday, the 7th Zi-l ka'da, A.H. 923³² (November, 1517 A.D.).

"Sikandar, King of the seven climes, has ceased to exist, And no one resembling Sikandar has survived him."

The length of the reign of that illustrious monarch was twenty-eight years and five months.

"The world belongs to God, who is One and Almighty,"

*An account of certain of Sikandar's chief nobles*³³

THERE were many of the chiefs of Sultan Sikandar whose history is worthy of being written, such as Asad Khan, the son of Mubarak Khan Yusuf-khail, who was endowed with the most exalted notions of generosity. Whenever the cloth was spread before him at meal-times he first filled large china plates with food, on which he placed great quantities of bread and pickles of every description, and on them a betel leaf, and on that a gold *mohur*, all of which he gave to beggars, and then began to eat himself. He addressed every one as a noble, even if he happened to be a servant of his own; if he chanced to be a stranger, he presented him with a *lac* of *tankas*. One day a person related to the Khan that Shaikh Muhammad Farmuli, the

³¹ This is related in almost the same words by Rizku-lla Mushtaki and Ahmad Yadgar.

³² The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi* (M.S., p. 124) informs us that his coffin was removed to Dehli and deposited there, together with that of his father, in a garden which Islam Shah Sur had inclosed and prepared for that purpose.

³³ An account of some others of his nobles will be found among the Extracts from the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki*.

vakil, from the badness of the times, had been unable to marry his daughter. Asad Khan sent for him into his presence, and ordered a young slave to fill both his hands with gold pieces, and cast them into the Shaikh's skirt. The slave did as the Khan commanded, and then took him to the *diwan*, to see how much money he had received. After counting it, they found it amounted to 70,000 *tankas*. This was related to Asad Khan, and he commanded the same slave to give him as many more gold pieces as were required to make up the sum to 100,000 *tankas*.³⁴

One day, whilst the Khan was hunting, a person brought curdled milk to him, prepared after the fashion of the villagers. Asad Khan ordered the dish in which he had brought it to be filled with gold pieces. One day a woman, a dweller of Chanderi, brought some *nim* leaves on a plate to Asad Khan, who saw that they were very green and fresh, and said to the woman. "What is the good of bringing *nim* leaves?" She replied, "I have cooked them as vegetables in such a manner that while they have not changed their appearance, they have all the flavour the best garden products can boast of." Asad Khan directed one of his companions to taste a small quantity, who perceived it was so tasty and well-cooked that it no longer retained the least flavour of *nim* leaves. Her plate was likewise filled with gold pieces, and returned to her.³⁵

One day, some horses were being shown to Asad Khan. Sadr Khan Sarsi, who was one of the chief nobles and his

³⁴ By Ahmad Yadgar (M.S., p. 103) this silly profusion is ascribed to Bhikan Khan *Haft-hazari*, who is said to have built forty mosques, to which he appointed readers and preachers, and to have distributed every day, when he went out riding, 500 *tankas* amongst *fakirs*.

³⁵ Ahmad Yadgar relates this anecdote also of Bhikan Khan, and adds that he had the wisdom to tell one of his own attendants to learn from the woman how to dress *nim* leaves in a similar fashion (M.S., p. 104). The *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (M.S., p. 67) ascribes all these absurdities to the son of Mubarak Khan, but calls him Saiyid Khan.

intimate friend, was seated. When the first horse was shown to the Khan, he asked Sadr Khan what sort of an animal it was. Sadr Khan expatiated upon the excellences of the horse, and praised it exceedingly. Asad Khan said, "Give this horse in charge to Sadr Khan's men." A second horse came, and he again asked Sadr Khan what he thought of it. Sadr Khan again spoke well of the horse. Asad Khan said, "Give this horse also to Sadr Khan's people." He gave no less than eight horses to Sadr Khan in this way. When the ninth arrived, he again said to Sadr Khan, "What kind of a horse is this?" Sadr Khan remained silent. On Asad Khan's inquiring the reason, Sadr Khan replied, "Your generosity has exceeded all bounds." Asad Khan smiled, and asked the man who was the stable-accountant, "How many horses had that day been brought for inspection?" He answered, "One hundred and eight are present." The Khan said to Sadr Khan, "Has taking one horse at a time distressed you? Lo! I have given all the horses brought for me to look at to Sadr Khan." In this manner he actually presented 108 horses on one day to the same individual.³⁶

One day, three jewels had been brought for him to look at. The price of one was 700,000 *tankas*, the second 500,000, the third 300,000. Asad Khan said to one of his associates, who happened to be present at the time, "Tell me truly which of these three precious stones have you selected as that which you expect to receive from me?" He answered, "In truth, I never thought of such a thing." The Khan said, "Make up your mind then on the subject now." He said, "The jewel which is worth 300,000." Asad Khan smiled, and said, "You pass over the stones of great value, and choose the smallest. You have preferred the least expensive one, and I have chosen the most

³⁶ This still more nonsensical prodigality, so calculated to attract Oriental admiration, is attributed by Ahmad Yadgar (M.S., p. 106) to Daulat Khan Lodi; but he reduces the donation to the more reasonable number of nine horses. The *Wahi'at-i Mushtaki* (M.S., p. 68) ascribes it to Saiyid Khan, but raises the number to 120 horses.

valuable one. The third alone remains. I give all these to you.”³⁷

Once on a time Sultan Sikandar appointed Asad Khan for the performance of a particular service, and he proceeded by uninterrupted marches into the district of Chanderi. The backs of all the baggage-animals carrying the treasure were galled. The chiefs informed him of this, saying, “If you give the order, we will distribute the treasure amongst the troops, and afterwards deduct it from their *jagirs*, and make it over to the government.” He approved of this proposal, and seven *lacs* of *tanikas* were thus distributed, and their receipts shown to the Khan. Asad Khan said, “Have I become a *saraf*, that I should lend and then take back? He tore up the documents with his own hands, and said, “I have given this to the army.” May the Most High God shield and cover him with his mercy!

Another of the nobles of Sikandar was the Khan-i-‘azam Lad Khan, the son of Ahmad Khan. He was a youth of high courage. To every one whom he wished to reward, he presented as much gold and silver as his shield would hold; he never mentioned a *tolcha* or a *dirham*, and could only count as far as ten. He knew not what even one and a half was, or two and a half;³⁸ and it was

³⁷ This folly is also ascribed in the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (M.S., p. 68) to Saiyid Khan, but to Daulat Khan Lodi by Ahmad Yadgar (M.S., p. 107); only the value is reduced to five, three, and two *lacs* respectively. He adds that some enemy, who witnessed this scene, went and reported the circumstance to the Sultan, representing that Daulat Khan was squandering the royal treasure. The Sultan replied, “You should congratulate me rather on having such generous nobles in my time.” Then summoning Daulat Khan, he invested him with a robe of honour, increased his rank by 1000, and gave him the *parganas* of Nagina and Chandpur in *jagir*.

³⁸ It is evident from the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (M.S., p. 72) that this applies only to his ignorance of the Hindi language, in which he did not know the words for those fractions. He was a Persian scholar, and fond of having the *Shah-nama* and *Sikandar-nama* read out to him. Rizku-lla, who was for a long time his *imam* or private chaplain, expatiates at greater length upon his ostentatious prodigality, which cannot be read without disgust, when we consider the plunder and devastation which must have been its source.

his custom to make over the presents which were brought to him to the officers on duty at the time. Thus, it is said, that on a Friday he was inspecting the armoury. At that time the Raja of Bhata sent him an elephant, and some presents of merchandize : he gave all these to Shaikh Muhammad, the keeper of the armoury. And so, if anything came whilst he was drinking water, the *abdar* received it. During the winter-time he daily wore two outer garments, which he gave away on the second day, and was in the habit of supplying every soldier with four or five dresses every winter. Whenever he went out to the game of *chaugan*, or was on a journey, if he supplied any person with a horse as a beast of burden or to ride on, he never again permitted it to be fastened in his stable, but still gave the animals their daily food at his own expense. If the person sold the horse, the daily allowance was not withdrawn, although the beast was no longer in his possession. If travellers arrived at his *darbar*, he gave each man one *tanka*, and a buffalo was daily slaughtered for their use ; and they received the above-mentioned provision so long as they stayed in the Khan's *darbar* ; on leaving, 200 *tankas* were given to them, and then they received permission to depart. Many of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar spent vast sums of money. Dilawar Khan, the son of Mian Bhuwa, daily purchased 500 *tankas* worth of roses for his *harem*.³⁹

To what extent could I not write the praises of Sikandar's chiefs ? But these few instances must suffice.

It was a wonderful age ! All enjoyed peace.
 In every house was pleasure and festivity.
 There was no thief to twist the noose round your neck.
 No one saw rebellion, even in his dreams.
 The Musulmans were dominant, the Hindus depressed,
 And no one knew the tribe of Mughals even by name.

³⁹ The *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (M.S., p. 66) gives the still more extravagant amount of 2500 *tankas* daily, and remarks that Dilawar Khan, Jald Khan Lodi, and Khan Jahan Tokhani were celebrated for the number of women in their households.

He was a king, who protected Islam like Alexander,
And therefore he has obtained the title of Sikandar Sani.⁴⁰

* * * * *

Abundance during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim ⁴¹

ONE of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultan Ibrahim's time was, that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandize were cheaper than they had ever known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan 'Alau-d din Khilji; but even that is doubtful. Moreover, in the time of the latter, the cheapness was occasioned by every kind of disgusting interference and oppression, and by a hundred thousand enforcements and and punishments; whereas the cheapness of this reign was occasioned by abundant harvests. In the time of Sikandar, also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much so as in the time of Ibrahim. Ten *mans* of corn could be purchased for one *bahloli*; five *sirs* of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance; the reason of all which was, that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. The Sultan had likewise issued an edict that his chiefs and nobles of every degree should take nothing but corn in payment of rent, and no money was to be taken from the cultivators on any account. The consequence was, that countless quantities of grain accumulated in the several *jagirs*, and as ready money only was necessary for maintaining the personal expenses of the nobles, they were eager to sell their grain at any price which was procurable. The abundance of God's blessings reached such a height, that ten *mans* of corn would sell for a *bahloli*. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty. A respectable man

⁴⁰ These lines are taken from a *Masnawi* of Khwaja Hasan.

⁴¹ The following Extract is found in precisely the same terms in the *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh* of Nuru-l Hakk.

with a family dependant on him might obtain wages at the rate of five *tankas* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Dehli to Agra, one *bahloli* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.

* * * * *

The foundation of Sher-garh.—Extermination of Gujars

AFTER the conquest of Multan by Haibat Khan, Sher Shah went (from Agra) to Dehli in the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.); and actuated by unworthy feelings he destroyed the fort of 'Alau-d din, which stood in Siri, conspicuous for its strength and loftiness, and built on the bank of the Jum, between Firozabad and Kilu Khari, in the village of Indrapat, a new city, about two or three *kos* distant from the old one. He filled it with inhabitants, as it remains to this day. He also laid the foundations of a magnificent *masjid*, which was very quickly completed. The name of this fort he called "Sher-garh," and the walls of it were of great breadth, length, and height; but on account of the shortness of his reign, he did not live to complete it. Within the fort was a small palace, also left incomplete, which he called "Sher-mandal."

Whilst he was so occupied in building Dehli, the thieves of Pali and Pahar, who are of the Gujar tribe, began to be exceedingly audacious in their depredations; insomuch that Sher Shah himself marched towards the hills occupied by that tribe. The Gujars were completely reduced to subjection, and he left orders that they should be expelled from that country. Consequently, not a vestige of their habitations was left.

* * * * *

Foundation of the Fort of Patna

SHER SHAH, on his return from Bengal (in 948 H., 1541 A.D.), came to Patna, then a small town dependent on

Bihar, which was the seat of the local government. He was standing on the bank of the Ganges, when, after much solid reflection and sage determination, he said to those who were standing by, "If a fort were to be built in this place, the waters of the Ganges could never flow far from it, and Patna would become one of the great towns of this country; because this place is situated to the west, on the banks of the Ganges which flows from the north. The strength of the stream is broken, and it cannot advance towards the north." He therefore ordered skilful carpenters and bricklayers to make out immediately an estimate for building a fort, where he then stood. These experienced workmen submitted an estimate of five *lacs*, which on the spur of the moment was made over to trustworthy persons. The fort was completed, and was considered to be exceedingly strong. Bihar from that time was deserted, and fell to ruin; while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province.

* * * * *

The reign of Islam Shah

WE have now come to the history of the sons of Sher Shah, the enthronement of Jalal Khan, the younger son of Sher Shah, and the account of his reign, under the title of Islam Shah. It is related in the *Akbar Shahi*, than when Sher Shah rendered up his life to the angel of death in Kalinjar, Jalal Khan, his youngest son, was in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bhata, and his eldest son 'Adil Khan, the heir-apparent, in the fort of Runthur (Rantambhor). The nobles perceived that 'Adil Khan would be unable to arrive with speed, and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalal Khan who was nearer. He reached Kalinjar in five days, and by the assistance of 'Isa Hajjab and other grandees,⁴² was raised to the throne near the fort of

⁴² The *Makhzan-i Afghani* makes 'Isa ascribe to Sher Shah the opinion that neither of his sons was fit to sway the sceptre; but that of the two he destined 'Adil Khan for his successor. According

Kalinjar, on the 15th⁴³ of the month Rabi'u-l awwal, 952 A.H. (25th May, 1545 A.D.). He assumed the title of Islam Shah, and this verse was engraved on his seal :⁴⁴

“The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy.

Since Islam Shah, the son of Sher Shah Sur, has become king.”

The common people call him Salim Shah.⁴⁵ After ascending the throne, and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shah, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.

On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army : one month of this he gave them as a present ; the other as subsistence money. Moreover, he resumed all the *jagirs* in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury instead. He entirely abolished, with one stroke of the pen, all former regulations respecting *jagirs*. After his accession, he ordered the Raja of Kalinjar, who had been captured with seventy of his adherents, to be put to death, and directed that not one of them should be spared. Islam Shah resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire of dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability, and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. He settled the *wazifas* and the *aima* villages and lands. His father had erected

to the work, there was a great deal of silly palaver amongst the chiefs preceeding Islam Shah's accession, but nothing of it is worth recording, and it will all be found in Dorn's *History of the Afghans*.

⁴³ The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi* (MS., p. 197) says the 19th, but all others concur in the 15th.

⁴⁴ The *Makhizam-i Afghani* says his original name was 'Abdu-l Jalil.

⁴⁵ Abdu-l Kadir, Firishta, Abu-l Fazl, and most of the Timurian authors, call him Salim Shah or Khan. His fort at Dehli is now called Salim-garh, and on his coins he is Islam Shah. [See Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 410.]

sarais at a distance of one *kos*⁴⁶ one from the other. Islam Shah built others between them, so that there was a *sarrai* at every half *kos*. He caused two horses and some footmen to be stationed at each *sarai*, for the purpose of acting as posts, and bringing him every day the news from Bengal, after the manner of *dak-chaukis*.⁴⁷ During the time of Sher Shah a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Islam Shah directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the *sarais*, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contented and at ease. In certain districts he issued entirely new ordinances, and allowed stipends of fifty, two hundred, two hundred and fifty, five hundred, and a thousand. (In each of these districts) he appointed Persian and Hindi writers.⁴⁸ He portioned his troops into divisions of five, ten, and twenty thousand men, to each of which he allotted one *sardar*, one Afghan *munsif*, one Hindustani judge, and two eunuchs of the palace. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shah he gave lands and *parganas*.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ He has before said this at p. 224, MS., but 'Abbas Sarwani and most other authorities say every two *kos*. The *Tarikh-i Badauni* also says every *kos*, and so do the *Nawadiru-l Hikayat*, the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki*, and the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*.

⁴⁷ The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 207) says, that in order to insure regularity of despatch, every day a turban of Sunargaon and a handful of fresh rice were delivered to the King, wherever he might be, by the *dak-chauki* establishment.

⁴⁸ The MS. is mutilated and doubtful in this passage. The *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* is preferable: "He also made some new regulations in his army, by dividing it into separate troops and cohorts. He formed bodies of 50, 200, 250, and 500. To every fifty there was a Turki and a Hindu writer attached."—MS., p. 140.

⁴⁹ A few more of regulations will be found among the Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Badauni*. They seem all silly and nonsensical, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. In the first sentence of this paragraph, we find land-grants converted into money-pensions; and in the last, money-pensions converted into land-grants; merely because in both instances Sher Shah had enacted

From the borders of Sunargaon to those of Bengal, and from Bengal to Kabul, he garrisoned the entire country with his troops. He had, whilst Prince, 6000 horsemen with him, and he now promoted all of them, each according to his deserts. He made privates (*jard*) officers (*girohdar*), and officers nobles. These regulations of Islam Shah caused those of Sher Shah to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shah's principal nobles were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Islam Shah. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grandees, and thus the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.

When Islam Shah received intimation of the secret disposition of the nobles, he marched from Kalinjar towards Agra. Whilst he was on the road, Khawas Khan also came from his *jagir* to pay his respects. A grand festival was given to celebrate Islam Shah's accession to the throne; after which he proceeded by uninterrupted marches to Agra, the seat of government, and took possession of the throne.

Islam Shah, being a monarch of vindictive disposition, wrote to his elder brother, saying, "Because I was near, and you were distant, to prevent disorder in the affairs of the State, I have taken charge of the army until your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your orders." He feigned to wish to gratify his affection by a personal interview with his brother. 'Adil Khan wrote in reply to Islam Shah, saying, "If these four persons, viz. Kutb Khan the *naib*, 'Isa Khan Niazi,⁵⁰

otherwise, and Islam Shah was desirous of showing the world that he also had "his own thunder." In one of his first speeches in the *Makhzam-i Afghani*, he says that he intends to uphold in every respect the institutions of Sher Shah.

⁵⁰ It is necessary to remember the distinction between these two 'Isa Khans. The rebel was a Niazi. The *Hujjab*, *Mir Hajib*, or *Tambul-dar* (which latter, betel-carrier, was one of the highest offices in the royal establishment of the Afghans), was of the tribe of Sur.

Jalal Khan Jalu, and Khawas Khan come and insure my safety, I will proceed to visit you." 'Adil Khan wrote thus to these four nobles, "I leave myself to your guidance. What is your advice? Ought I to go, or remain?" Islam Shah sent all of these nobles to his brother; and after removing his fears for his safety by oaths and protestations, they promised him that he should be permitted to depart after the first interview, and that he should be allowed to choose any *jagir* in Hindustan which suited him. 'Adil Khan went, accompanied by the nobles, to see his brother. When he reached Fathpur Sikri, Islam Shah came forth to meet him in the village of Singarpur, the place prepared for the meeting of the two brothers, and they had an interview there. They made professions of affection one to the other, and after sitting together for a short time, set off for Agra. Islam Shah, intending treachery towards his brother,⁵¹ had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to enter the fort with 'Adil Khan. When they arrived at the gate of the fort of Agra, Islam Shah's men forbade their entry; to this 'Adil Khan's people paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with 'Adil Khan.⁵²

When Islam Shah saw that his plot against his brother had been unsuccessful, he was obliged to speak courteously to him. He said, "I have a number of Afghans in my service, who are very unruly, and whom I will now make over to you." After which, Islam Shah seated his brother on the throne, and treated him with all possible civility. 'Adil Khan was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware of the deceit and cunning of Islam Shah, and would not consent to this. He rose up, and after causing Islam Shah to seat himself on the throne, he first of all made him an obeisance and did homage, and congratulated him on his accession to

⁵¹ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says the assassination both of him and his son.

⁵² Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 322) says five or six thousand of 'Adil Khan's men, armed with swords, forced their way into the fort in defiance of all attempts to exclude them.

the throne. The chief nobles, after paying their customary compliments, retired to their appropriate places. The four nobles before mentioned then informed the King that an oath and a promise had been made that 'Adil Khan should be allowed to depart after the first interview, and that a *jagir* should be allotted to him.

Islam Shah ordered this to be done, and 'Isa Khan and Khawas Khan were directed to accompany 'Adil Khan to Bayana.⁵³ Two months afterwards, Islam Shah sent Ghazi Mahali, one of his attendants, with golden chains, and ordered him to seize 'Adil Khan.⁵⁴ 'Adil Khan, hearing this ill-news, fled to Khawas Khan in Mewat, before Ghazi Mahali arrived, and informed him of the perjury of Islam Shah. In the mean time, Ghazi Mahali reached that place. Khawas Khan was enraged. He sent for Ghazi Mahali, and caused the fetters to be fastened on his own legs, and thus raised the standard of rebellion. He wrote in private to the chiefs who were with Islam Shah in Agra, and gained them over to his party, and then marched towards Agra at the head of a powerful force. Kutb Khan and 'Isa Khan, who had been concerned with him in the business of the oath, stimulated him to advance, and advised him to manage so that 'Adil Khan should reach Agra a little before day-break, in order that the people might, without feeling ashamed, forsake Islam Shah and join him.⁵⁵

⁵³ Which the *Makhzan-i Afghani* informs us had been fixed on as his *jagir*.

⁵⁴ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* charges him with this childish message, "That it would afford an indelible proof of his submission and loyalty, if he for some days would allow himself to be put in chains and repair to Court, where His Majesty would take off the fetters again, and, after many favours, allow him to depart again for Bayana." Such nonsense would not be tolerable even in Æsop's Fables or Little Red Riding Hood.

⁵⁵ This ridiculous false morality of the traitors is represented by Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 322) as being felt, or professed, only by the instigators themselves. He reasonably concluded that such notions are foreign to the sentiments of obtuse artisans and phlegmatic shopboys, and could only be entertained by sensitive and delicate *jagirdars*.

When 'Adil Khan and Khawas Khan reached Fathpur Sikri, they went to visit Chaikh Salim, one of the holy men of the age. By chance, that night happened to be the *Shab-i-Barat*, and the performance of the prayers appointed for that occasion delayed Khawas Khan. They did not, therefore, arrive in the neighbourhood of Agra until the forenoon. Islam Shah, having learnt their arrival, and being informed of the evil disposition of the nobles, was sorely distressed, and said to Kutb Khan, "If I have ill-treated 'Adil Khan, why did not Khawas Khan write to me on the subject, that I might give up my intention." Kutb Khan, perceiving the King's distress, said, "Be not cast down, the business is not yet irremediable. I will undertake to suppress this disturbance." Islam Shah sent away Kutb Khan, and other chiefs who inclined to the side of 'Adil Khan, and told them to go to 'Adil Khan. His design was to place these people at a distance from himself, and then to proceed towards the fort of Chunar, where he might collect his treasures, and afterwards, after having made new arrangements, advance to the attack of his enemies. 'Isa Khan endeavoured to dissuade him from doing this, and said, "If you place no confidence in the nobles of your father and others, you ought at least to trust those 5000 men who have served the King since he was a Prince. Possessing such a force as you do, it would be madness to shrink from the contest which is before you; and although certain of the nobles have secret ill-will towards you, yet it shows a want of caution to send them to the enemy. Your best course will be to lead the army into battle in person, and to show yourself foremost in the field. In this way no one will desert to the foe." Islam Shah's heart was strengthened, and he determined to remain where he was. He sent for Kutb Khan and the other chiefs, to whom he had granted permission to depart, and said to them, "Why should I make you over to the enemy with my own hands? Perhaps they are ill-disposed towards you." After this he prepared for war, and posted himself on the field of

battle. When those who intended to join 'Adil Khan saw Islam Shah fully prepared for action, they refrained from going. The two armies met face to face, and a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Agra.⁵⁶ The decree of the Almighty granted victory to Islam Shah, and the army of 'Adil Khan was defeated. 'Adil Khan fled alone and unaccompanied towards the hills of Bhata,⁵⁷ and no one knew what had become of him. Khawas Khan and 'Isa Khan Niazi went to Mewat. Islam Shah despatched a powerful force in pursuit of Khawas Khan,⁵⁸ and a second battle took place at Firozpur (Jharka), near Mewat. Islam Shah's troops were routed; but Khawas Khan, perceiving his inability to continue the war, went to the skirts of the Kamaun hills, and for a long time devastated the territories of Islam Shah in their vicinity.

After these events, Islam Shah became mistrustful of all his father's nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison, and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmud Khan, the son of 'Adil Khan, under surveillance,⁵⁹ and ruined⁶⁰ first Kutb Khan Sur, then Barmazid Sur, Jalal Khan Sur, and Zain Khan Niazi. He slew Jalal Khan Sur, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused

⁵⁶ At Marhakar, a small town to the west of Agra. Dorn calls it Mundagur.

⁵⁷ The original reads "Pata." Ahmad Yadgar says "Paya." Dorn says "Patna." The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says, "Crossing the Jumna, he arrived at Chandwar, and thence fled through the jungle tract into the country of Thatta." The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* has "Pata." Briggs, "Patna."

⁵⁸ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says that after this battle the title of Khawas Khan was bestowed upon 'Isa Khan Hujjab.

⁵⁹ Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 326) says he killed his nephew, but gives no name. [The original words are "sar si kard."]

⁶⁰ [The words of the MS. in both these sentences are *kohnari sakht*, an expressive phrase signifying that he squeezed them as poppy heads are squeezed. Firishita says they were sent into confinement at Gwalior; but see Dorn, p. 157.]

the aforesaid nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shah were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawas Khan, who bore the title of Masnad 'Ali, who was impaled on some frivolous pretext.⁶¹ He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity. He gained the good-will of the poor by granting them pensions and stipends. Bent upon destroying his father's nobles, he went towards Chunar, and on the road put Jalal Khan, who was a friend of 'Adil Khan, to death. He removed all the treasure from Chunar, and sent it to Gwalior.⁶² He then returned to Agra, and remained there.

When some time had elapsed, many of Sher Shah's nobles became convinced that Islam Shah intended to ruin them. Sa'id Khan, the brother of Haibat Khan Niazi, fled from Agra to Haibat Khan, and induced him to rebel against Islam Shah. Kutb Khan, one of the great chiefs and a principal grandee, who had been concerned in 'Adil Khan's first sedition, escaped in the greatest alarm, and joined 'Azam Humayun Niazi at Lahore. Islam Shah wrote a *farman* to 'Azam Humayun, demanding the surrender of Kutb Khan. 'Azam Humayun, by deceitful representations, contrived to send him to Islam Shah, who imprisoned him, with fourteen other chiefs, such as Shahbaz Khan Lohani the son-in-law of Sher Khan, Barmazid Sur, and other persons. He then sent them to Gwalior, after which he took measures

⁶¹ One could scarcely suppose, from the mode in which this name is here introduced, that he is the same Khawas Khan who is mentioned in the preceding paragraph, or that he is to appear again shortly afterwards, acting a most conspicuous part in the battle of Ambala. His death is too summarily passed over by most authors who treat of this period, and I have, therefore, added a few particulars in "Memoir of Khawas Khan."

⁶² "Gwalir" [or Gwaliyar] in the original throughout.

for the seizure of 'Azam Humayun and Shuja Khan,⁶³ and sent these two grantees a summons to appear before him. 'Azam Humayun wrote from Lahore, to excuse himself from coming; and Shuja' Khan came from Malwa and paid his respects to Islam Shah; but as Islam Shah desired to obtain possession of the persons of these two chiefs at the same time, he allowed Shuja' Khan to return to his *jagir*. He went back to his fief in Malwa, and Islam Shah turned his face towards Rohtas and Chunar.

On the road, 'Azam Humayun's brother, who had always been an attendant at Court, fled to Lahore. On account of his flight, Islam Shah went back to Agra, where he collected his troops and marched thence towards Dehli. When Shuja' Khan received intelligence of these occurrences, he hastened to Dehli with all possible speed, without being summoned by Islam Shah. The King gratified him by treating him with distinction, and after arranging his army, and halting some days at Dehli, he proceeded in the direction of Lahore. 'Azam Humayun and the whole of the King's enemies had an interview with Khawas Khan and his friends, and despatched a powerful force from the Panjab to encounter His Majesty. They came up with each other near Ambala; and as Islam Shah was encamped very near the Niazi troops, a fight was imminent. On the night preceding the day of battle, 'Azam Humayun and his brothers met in Khawas Khan's tent, and consulted together concerning the appointment of another Sovereign. Khawas Khan said, that the best course would be to raise 'Adil Khan, the eldest son of Sher Shah, to the throne, as he was the rightful heir. Upon this all the Niazis said unanimously, "What advice is this? No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword." Khawas Khan was vexed at

⁶³ He is styled "Shuja'at Khan" throughout the previous reign. The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* calls him "Shuja'al." See "Death of Shuja't' Khan."

their intentions, and on the same night he secretly sent a verbal message to one of the confidential servants of Islam Shah, requesting him to inform the King, that although His Majesty looked on him (Khawas Khan) as an unfaithful servant, yet that his heart had always inclined towards Sher Shah's family and offspring; and that although he had sided with 'Adil Khan, who were the Niazi's that he should be guilty of disloyalty to his benefactor on their account, and for the sake of their alliance? That his wish to be of service should, with the consent of the Almighty, be made manifest on the day of battle.

When Islam Shah became aware of the disagreement which had taken place amongst the chiefs of the enemy, and of the friendly feeling of Khawas Khan, he rejoiced exceedingly, and became confident of success. Meanwhile, news was brought that the Niazi troops had advanced to within a very short distance of the royal camp.⁶⁴ Islam Shah said: "The Afghans have no sense." He made an inclosure with all his wheeled carriages, like a fortress, into which he caused the whole of his army to enter, and then went in person to reconnoitre the Niazi's from an elevated position. When he beheld the foe, he said, "I shall be disgraced if I do not fight the rebel troops," and ordered the chains, with which the carriages were fastened together to be removed. At that moment, he ranged his troops in battle array, and made ready for the fight. The war drums were beaten on both sides. Khawas Khan sent to tell 'Azam Humayun and his brothers to advance when they saw him do so on his elephant with his standard displayed and not to forsake him. With this intention they turned their faces towards the field. Khawas Khan started from his post, but attacked no one, and succeeded in making his way

⁶⁴ Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 328) says, that while they were forming for action, a thunderstorm came on, and 'Azam Humayun's elephant was struck dead by lightning, which was considered ominous of defeat.

into the open country. The Niazis fought to the best of their ability, but as no benefit is ever derived from disloyalty, and as it always occasions distress and regret, they were routed, and the victory remained with Islam Shah.

“Who can resist him whom fortune assists?”

Whilst these events were occurring, Sa'id Khan, the brother of 'Azam Humayun, came armed to the teeth, under the pretext of congratulating the King; hoping, as no one knew him, to find an opportunity of slaying His Majesty.⁶⁵ He mixed with the royal guards. Islam Shah was at the time standing surrounded by a circle of war elephants, and Sa'id Khan was, consequently, unable to reach him immediately. He was shortly afterwards recognized by one of the elephant-drivers, who gave the alarm, and was slain by a thrust of Sa'id's spear.⁶⁶ Sa'id's valour and strength enabled him to make good his escape from the place where the royal guards were. The Niazis fled to Dinkot, which is near Roh. After their defeat, they were hindered in their flight by the marshy ground in the neighbourhood of Ambala,⁶⁷ which prevented their horses from proceeding, and consequently Islam Shah's troops who were in pursuit coming up with them, made a great slaughter of the Niazis. Islam Shah followed them in person as far as New Rohtas, and there appointed Khwaja Wais Sarwani, with an immense army, to prosecute the war with the Niazis, after which he turned back towards Agra and Gwalior. He proceeded by uninter-

⁶⁵ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says he had been sent for that purpose by his brother, and that an elephant-driver struck him so violently, that his helmet dropped from his head. The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* also says an elephant-driver aimed a spear at him.

⁶⁶ Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 331) says he was slain by the spear of Ahmed Khan Sur.

⁶⁷ It must be remembered there had been a storm in the morning, and the stream to the west of Ambala, though ordinarily dry, soon flows like a torrent during an inundation.

rupted marches from Rohtas to Agra,⁶⁸ where he halted two or three days, and then went on to Gwalior, and remained there.

At this time many of his father's nobles, who had been appointed to different districts, came into the presence. Although Islam Shah had secretly an ill-feeling towards Shuja' Khan, yet as Daulat Khan Ujiala, the adopted son of Shuja' Khan, was much beloved by the King, for whom he had done good service, on his account he behaved outwardly with great kindness to Shuja' Khan, and treated him with honour and consideration. He gave him the government of the entire province of Malwa. One day an Afghan, named 'Usman Khan, came intoxicated into the *diwan-khana* of Shuja' Khan, and spat repeatedly on the carpet. When forbidden to do this by the *farashes*, he arose and struck them with his fist. There was a great outcry, and the *farashes* informed Shuja' Khan of what had taken place. Shuja' Khan said, "He has been guilty of three offences : firstly, he has drunk wine ; secondly, he has entered the *diwan-khana* ; thirdly, he has beaten the *farashes*." He then ordered both 'Usman Khan's hands to be cut off. 'Usman Khan went to Gwalior, and complained to the King, who said nothing, on account of the high rank which Shuja' Khan had held in Sher Shah's time, and of the faithful services of Daulat Khan.

After some time, Shuja' Khan came to Gwalior, and one day 'Usman Khan again petitioned Islam Shah concerning the injury which he had suffered. The King, becoming angry with the petitioner, said, "You also are an Afghan, go and revenge yourself on him." When 'Usman Khan heard this, he began to take measures to accomplish his wishes. Shuja' Khan was vexed when he heard what the King had said, and made use of unbecoming language. As both 'Usman Khan's hands had been

⁶⁸ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says he remained three months at Delhi, after this victory, during which period Khawas Khan was murdered ; and that he then went to Gwalior, which he had established as the seat of the government.

amputated, he had a hand made of iron. One day, an attendant of Shuja' Khan's told him that 'Usman Khan was seated in a cutler's shop, causing a knife to be sharpened, and speaking in a violent manner. Shuja' Khan's courage prevented this information from making any impression on him, until one day, as he was going in a litter to pay his respects to the King in the castle of Gwalior, and had reached the Hathyapul gate, he saw 'Usman Khan seated in a shop with one hand concealed in his *dopatta*. Shuja' Khan desired to inquire something concerning him, when 'Usman Khan suddenly rose up, and running from the shop, wounded Shuja' Khan. He was instantly seized by the armed men who surrounded the litter, who then perceived that he had an iron hand fastened to the stump, by means of which he had inflicted a slight wound in Shuja' Khan's left side, only grazing the skin. He was slain immediately, and they then took Shuja' Khan's litter back to his house. After Shuja' Khan had been wounded, and when 'Usman Khan had met with his reward, an uproar and disturbance arose amongst the people. When news of this event reached the King, he sent some of his courtiers and men of note to Shuja' Khan, to inquire how he fared, and intended likewise to go in person.

Shuja' Khan being aware that his own friends and connexions were of opinion that 'Usman Khan had attacked him at the instigation of Islam Shah, and seeing their hostile disposition, he thought it better to oppose the King's coming, in order to prevent them from acting rashly. He sent, therefore, a message to say, "Your servant was the dependent of Your Majesty's father, and never shrank from performing any service he required of him, although by so doing he placed his life in danger. Your servant is one of those thirty-five persons who were appointed by your father, and who were bound to him by the ties of affection, as all men know. I have this time escaped with life, and shall yet be able to do you service. Do not trouble yourself to come on your slave's account.

It is sufficient that I should have been honoured by your kind inquiries after my health." When this was told to Islam Shah, he understood his reasons for what he said. Nevertheless, as Shuja' Khan was one of the pillars of the State, and deserved well of his sovereign on account of his great services, after waiting for one day, Islam Shah went to visit him in person. Fath Khan, the son of Shuja' Khan, whose strength was remarkable, and against whom no person could contend, saw Islam Shah entering Shuja' Khan's tent alone, and wished to stay him. Mian Bayazid, another son of Shuja' Khan, perceived his brother's intention, and felt certain that he would commit some act of violence; he therefore sent Fath Khan to prepare the customary presents. Islam Shah honoured Shuja' Khan's abode by entering it. They remained together for a short time; and when Islam Shah was about to depart, Shuja' Khan said, "May the King prosper! I entreat you not to take the trouble of coming again. Your slave is afraid that if you do, the remembrance of his past services will be effaced, and that the banner of the King and the dignity which I have raised with so much trouble will be overthrown in an instant. Your Majesty knows better than any other how rude and intemperate the Afghans are." Islam Shah returned thence to the royal dwelling, and became ten times as ill-disposed towards Shuja Khan as he had been before.

Shuja' Khan recovered from his wound in a short time, and after performing his ablutions, and giving alms to the poor, went one day to pay his respects to Islam Shah, who presented him with 101 horses and 101 bales of merchandize of Bengal, and treated him with great favour and kindness in a right royal manner. Shuja Khan was convinced that the King's excessive politeness only concealed a wish to injure him. He passed that day without taking any particular steps, and returned home. Next day he ordered his servants to place his camp equipage on beasts of burden. The people of the city thought that he was going to a fresh encamping ground, on account of the

filthy state of that in which he then was. When the property of all his men had been laden, and his troops were armed and equipped, he ordered the drum to beat for the march, and departed towards Sarangpur.⁶⁹ When Islam Shah learnt this circumstance, he was very angry, and sent a body of troops in pursuit; and after arranging his army, set off himself in the direction of Saharapur. Shuja' Khan reached Sarangpur, and began to look after the equipments of his soldiery, who, when they heard that Islam Shah was coming, incited Shuja' Khan to give him battle. He said, "Islam Shah is my benefactor, and the son of my patron. I will never fight against him. Whoever thinks that I have any such intention had better leave off doing so, and quit my service."

When Islam Shah arrived in the vicinity of Sarangpur,⁷⁰ Shuja' Khan left the city, after sending his family on a-head, and went in the direction of Banswara. Islam Shah resumed Malwa, and after leaving 'Isa Khan Sur in the district of Ujjain, with 22,000 horsemen, went himself to Gwalior. Shuja' Khan, notwithstanding his power, and the means which he had at his disposal, made no attempts on Malwa.⁷¹ Islam Shah was at this time engaged in checking the rebellion of the Niazis. As he had hitherto been unsuccessful, he marched a second time towards Lahore, for the purpose of punishing that tribe. Daulat Khan Ujjala, the adopted son of Shuja' Khan, who was one of the select associates of Islam Shah, entreated him to pardon the transgressions of Shuja' Khan. There was no person in whom the King placed so much confidence or liked so well as Daulat Khan; for this reason his petition was successful, and Shuja' Khan was enabled to come with the speed of the wind into the presence of Islam Shah, who pardoned his faults and

⁶⁹ Firishia, the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*, and the *Makhzan-i Afghani* say that this occurred in 954 H. It is rare to get any precise date throughout the reign.

⁷⁰ 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.).

⁷¹ It is strange that this author tells us nothing of his subsequent fate.—See "Death of Shuja't Khan."

granted him Sarangpur, the country of Raisin, and several other districts; he, moreover, presented him a good ewer and a basin of the same material, and then gave him permission to depart. Daulat Khan Ujilia remained with His Majesty. He was called Ujiala,⁷² because at night time torches were always placed on both sides of the road between his dwelling and that of the King. He was one of the most celebrated men of his time, on account of his family, his courage, and his liberality.

We have now come to the remainder of the history of the Niazis. 'Azam Humayun and Khwaja Wais fought together on several occasions. In the last action 'Azam Humayun defeated the Khwaja, and turned his face towards Sirhind. When Islam Shah heard this news, he raised a large force, and sent it against the Niazis, on which 'Azam Humayun retraced his steps and went to Mankot. Islam Shah's troops came up with him near Sambhal, and a battle took place, in which the Niazis were again routed. The children and mother of 'Azam Humayun were made captive, and brought before Islam Shah.⁷³

After their defeat, the Niazis took refuge with the Ghakkars, in the hill-country bordering on Kashmir. Islam Shah advanced in person with a large army for the purpose of quelling the Niazi rebellion,⁷⁴ and during the space of two years was engaged in constant conflicts with

⁷² [Hind, *ujala* brightness, light.]

⁷³ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* tells us that the unfortunate females on the establishment of 'Azam Humayun, Sa'id Khan, and 'Isa Khan Niazi were ignominiously exposed once a week, during two years, in the Common Hall of Audience, and the three chiefs were proclaimed aloud as rebels. In the end they wanton crime, which, to the credit of Daulat K have excited his indignation, and caused his from Court.

⁷⁴ The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 205) ascribes this expedition to the year 955 H. The *Tarikh-i Badauni* says Wais's defeat at Dinkot occurred either in 954 or 955 H. (God knows which!). Elphinstone (*History of India*, vol. ii., p. 153) makes the Niazi insurrection last for two years till 954 H., but this is obviously too early. Vigorous measures of suppression did not commence till that period.

the Ghakkars, whom he desired to subdue. He strove by every means in his power to gain possession of the person of Sultan Adam Ghakkar, who had been a faithful friend of the Emperor Humayun, without success; but he caught Sarang Sultan Ghakkar, who was one of the most noted men of his tribe, and caused him to be flayed alive, and confined his son, Kamal Khan, in the fort of Gwalior. When Islam Shah had thus taken a proper revenge of Sultan Adam Ghakkar, and destroyed many of his tribe, many of the *zamindars* whose possessions were at the foot of the hills submitted themselves to him. Skirting the hills, he went thence towards Murin, and all the Rajas of the Siwalik presented themselves, and expressed their intention of being obedient and faithful in their allegiance to him. Parsuram, the Raja of Gwalior, became a staunch servant of the King, and was treated with a degree of consideration which far exceeded that shown to the other *zamindars*. Gwalior⁷⁵ is a hill, which is on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go to Kangra and Nagarkot. Islam Shah erected some buildings there. The inhabitants of Gwalior are not particularly good-looking, and Islam Shah composed these lines in jest :

"How can I sing the praises of the beloved ones of Gwalior ?

I could never do so properly if I tried in a thousand ways !

I do not know how to salute Parsuram,

When I behold him, I am distracted, and exclaim, Ram ! Ram !"

Taj Khan Kirani, one of the King's attendants and companions, wrote and presented this verse :

"I style myself your slave !

What better employment can I find than your service ?"

Islam Shah stayed some time at Gwalior, and then set about building the fort of Mankot. He went thither and caused five forts to be erected : one of which he named Shergarh, a second Islamgarh, a third Rashidgarh, a fourth

⁷⁵ ["Gwaliyar" in the MS.]

Firozgarh, the fifth retained its original names of Mankot and Mangarh. The performances of Islam Shah at this period can only be compared with the works done by the genii, by order of Hazrat Sulaiman (on whom be peace !). Those who have beheld these forts know better than any other how miraculously they have been constructed.⁷⁶

But Islam Shah at this time behaved harshly towards the people, and gave no money to the nobles and the army for three years. Certain nobles agreed together to act treacherously, and instructed a certain individual, who was careless of his life, thus, "The King will go forth to-day from the red tents for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Mankot ; approach him, where the path is narrow, under the pretext of demanding justice, and then kill him !" This person went to the summit of a hill, and posted himself in a place where only one man could pass at a time. When Islam Shah reached that narrow passage, he was preceded by some of his attendants and followed by others. The aforesaid assassin approached the King, demanding a hearing. As he did so, and when he was close to him, he drew a short sword which he had kept concealed, and struck at Islam Shah, who was slightly wounded in the neck and fingers. Islam Shah's extraordinary valour induced him to spring from his horse, and grapple with his assailant, whom he threw down, and then wrested his weapon from him. Daulat Khan Ujiala beheld all that took place from the rear, and came as swift as the wind to the assistance of His Majesty. He took the man out of the King's hands, saying, "If you will allow me, I will take charge of this person." Islam Shah replied, "He will be the cause of the ruin of many. Put him quickly to death. He is sure to accuse many people falsely of having instigated him to act thus. There is no benefit to be deprived from keeping him." Daulat Khan accordingly killed him on the spot.

⁷⁶ Without paying the workmen, as appears from the *Tarikh-i Badauni*. The statement respecting the forts is copied from the *Wahi'at-i Mushtaki* (MS., p. 154).

There arose a great disturbance amongst the troops on account of the wound which the King had received, and the people said amongst themselves, "The King has been killed by a *paik*." Islam Shah returned immediately to his camp, and remained seated for some time on the throne. He sent for the sword with which the man had wounded him, and threw it down before the nobles. They all, as well as the King, perceived that the weapon was one which he had himself given to Ikbal Khan. This Ikbal Khan was called Karamu-lla, and had served in the King's infantry. Islam Shah had patronized him and promoted him to the rank of a noble. The King summoned him, and thus addressed him, "I raised you to your present station, because I believed you to be faithful and trustworthy; and I made you extremely wealthy. I am ashamed to put you to death, because you are a person whom I have raised and treated kindly. Thus I punish you. I degrade you from your dignity and position as a noble, and send you back to the salary which you formerly received as a foot soldier. Take your old place again." The King then repeated this verse :

"I am so vexed with my friends,

I will never take one even to save myself from ruin !"

Certain nobles desired to place Mubariz Khan, who possessed the title of 'Adali, on the throne. The King summoned him to the presence, but said nothing to him, for the sake of Bibi Bai. From that date, the suspicious which he entertained of his nobles led him to treat them with open enmity, and to take measures to overthrow them. He directed that the war elephants and those nobles in whom he placed confidence should keep watch and ward over his tent.

He then set seriously to work to exterminate the Niazis. When the Ghakkars had been rendered powerless, 'Azam Humayun went into the hill-country of Kashmir. Islam Shah encamped beneath Kaitali-shahr, and designed to pursue the Niazis into Kashmir; while

Mirza Haidar, the Governor of Kashmir, in order to gain Islam Shah's good-will, blocked up the road against the Niazis.⁷⁷ 'Azam Humayun perceived that the King was coming in his rear, and that the Governor of Kashmir had closed the path on ahead; being, therefore, unable to effect anything, he went to Rajauri. Islam Shah pursued the Niazis with the choicest of his troops as far as the village of Madad, in the territory of Naushahra, where he was terrified by the dangers and difficulties of the mountain passes, and thought that his best plan would be to make peace. With this view he sent Saiyid Khan and 'Abdul Malik, who were two of his most trusted and confidential courtiers, with a letter to 'Azam Humayun and the other Niazis, counselling them to take a course by which their interests would be best benefited. 'Azam Humayun's son and mother were then surrendered as hostages to Islam Shah, and he, taking them with him, quitted the defiles of the hills, and encamped at Ban, a village near Sialkot.

Muhammad Nazr and Sabr 'Ali, the King of Kashmir's governors in Rajauri, plotted to carry 'Azam Humayun into Kashmir, and expel Mirza Haidar thence. 'Azam Humayun consulted the Afghans who had accompanied him with reference to the propriety of this proceeding, and the greater portion of them counselled him to consent to what was evidently a decree of the Almighty. 'Azam Humayun, however, refused to agree to this arrangement, and sent a *brahman* to Mirza Haidar, with proposals for accommodation, at the same time begging for assistance, and giving an account of his distressed condition. Mirza Haidar, who was a youth of a magnanimous disposition, sent a large sum of money to 'Azam Humayun, with a civil message. 'Azam Humayun marched from his encampment to the village of Buzurg. When the faithless

⁷⁷ It must be remembered that the Niazis are pure Afghans, from whom are descended the Musa-khail, 'Isa-khail, Sambhal, and Saharang, all congregated now between the towns of Makhad and Dera Isma'il Khan on the Sind. The *Khulasatu-l Ansab*, Firishta, and some later writers seem rather disposed to regard them as a religious sect.

Kashmiris saw that 'Azam Humayun was unsuccessful, they turned against him and deserted him. Some of them went over to Islam Shah. Ghazi Khan Chak went to Mirza Haidar and told him that 'Azam Humayun was coming with a body of Afghans for the purpose of seizing Kashmir, and had reached the *pargana* of Banihal, and the hills of Lohkot and Malwakot. 'Idi Ratna, Husain Makari, Bahram Chak, and Yusuf Chak, were ordered to attack the Niazi with a force of Kashmiris. Both sides prepared for action, and a fierce contest took place. Bibi Rabi'a, the wife of 'Azam Humayun, fought like a man, and smote Lali Chak with her sword. The Kashmiris were very numerous, and were victorious over the discomfited Afghans. 'Azam Humayun, Sa'id Khan, and Bibi Rabi'a were killed in the battle, and the men of Kashmir returned successful to Sirinagar. Mirza Haidar sent the heads of the Afghans, by the hand of Ya'kub Mir, to Islam Shah, who was in the village of Ban, near the river Chinab, and who, well pleased at the termination of the Niazi rebellion, marched back homewards.

About this time Mirza Kamran fled from King Humayun's Court, and sought refuge with Islam Shah. Kamran Mirza was an excellent poet, and this fact had repeatedly been a subject of conversation in Islam Shah's presence. At their first interview, Islam Shah, with the view of testing Kamran's skill, repeated three couplets : one composed by a poet of 'Irak, the second by one of the learned of Hindustan, the third was an Afghan production. He then asked for an explanation of them. Kamran Mirza said, "Do you question me concerning the beauties of the poetry, or do you wish to know who the poets are?" After this Kamran Mirza said "The first couplet which you recited was written by a Mughal of 'Irak; the second by a poet of Hind; the third is by an Afghan poet." Islam Shah praised the excellence of Mirza Kamran's knowledge and understanding before all that assembly. After this occurrence, Islam Shah, although he meant him no good, by the advice of certain nobles, con-

tinued to treat that prince with fitting distinction. Nevertheless, the Mirza fled from Islam Shah's presence into the Siwalik hills, and from thence went into the Ghakkar country. All this is related in detail in the histories of King Humayun's reign.

Islam Shah proceeded by uninterrupted marches from the village of Ban to Dehli, where he remained for some month.⁷⁸ One day when in Dehli Islam Shah had applied leeches to his neck, when intelligence reached him that Humayun had crossed the Nilab and entered Hindustan. At this moment an Afghan musician was singing this verse, and accompanying himself on the *rubab* :

"When the whole universe is inimical to me,
If you befriend me, why should I be afraid ?"

Islam Shah said to those who were present, "This good news which my guardian angel has sent me, is the best omen of success I can have." He paid no attention to the selection of an auspicious moment for departure, nor did he consult the astrologers, but immediately freed his neck from the leeches, and mounted his horse, and determined to sustain the royal honour. On the first day he made a march of three *kos*. He was always accompanied by his artillery; but on account of the haste with which he started on this expedition, oxen were not procurable in the villages near Dehli. He did not, however, wait for their arrival, but directed that the common people should pull the gun carriages. He had 300,000 of these individuals employed on this service; 150,000 of whom were provided with mattocks for the purpose of

⁷⁸ While here upon this occasion the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 294) says that he set about building the fort of Salimgarh, on the banks of the Jumna, opposite Dinpanah, which had been erected by Humayun; and that in the time of the author Salimgarh was occupied by Shaikh Farid Bukhari. He ordered a wall to be built round Humayun's Dehli; which is likewise mentioned by Firishla. That Emperor, on his restoration, made but an ungrateful return, by proscribing the name of Salimgarh, and substituting that of Nurgarh, as more euphonious to his royal ears. We have rarely occasion to accuse this mild Emperor of vindictiveness.

entrenching the camp. Each gun was pulled by 2000 men on foot.⁷⁹ He went in person, with great speed, to Lahore; but King Humayun had, previous to Islam Shah's arrival, received his brother Kamran Mirza from Sultan Adam Ghakkar, and returned with him to Kabul.

Islam Shah advanced as far as Lahore, and returned from that place to Gwalior, where he amused himself with hunting.⁸⁰ He was one day hunting in the district of Antri, when certain Afghan nobles, who were ill-disposed towards him, laid an ambuscade on his road, with the intention of injuring him; but as his life was not destined to close so soon, he went back by another route, and was informed the same evening of the meditated treachery. He caused Bahau-d din, Mahmud, and Madaka, the chiefs of the conspirators, to be seized and punished. After this Islam Shah became more mistrustful than ever of his nobles, and seized and imprisoned or put to death all those whom he chiefly suspected. One day he said to his wife Bibi Bai, "I have cleared the road for your son, but your brother Mubariz Khan is still a thorn in his way. If you wish for your son's life, say that you desire your brother to be put out of the way." Bibi Bai answered, "My brother is a man who loves his pleasure and dissipation, and has always passed his life in looking after musical instruments, and listening to

⁷⁹ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says there were sixty large guns; that each gun was drawn by 1000 men; and that he marched twelve *kos* a day, the artillery always reaching the ground before anything else came up. The *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* says there were 60,000 draught-men, and that each gun required from 1000 to 2000 men. [See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 469.]

⁸⁰ Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 343) says plainly, that Islam Shah remained two years at Lahore, and that when the rumours of Humayun's approach had died away, he came to Delhi, where he built "Islamgarh, opposite to Dinpanah, in the middle of the waters of the Jumna, so that no fort should be so strong in all Hindustan, for it looks as if it was cut out of one stone." After remaining some months at Agra, he returned to Gwalior. The *Makhzan-i Afghani* says that on his return to Gwalior, which followed immediately on his arrival from Ludiana, he ordered the arrears of pay for two whole years to be disbursed.

tunes ; he has no head for government."⁸¹ Islam Shah endeavoured with great skill and ability, by adducing strong proofs, and by beneficial advice, to induce her to be of his opinion ; but this ignorant woman refused to consent to what Islam Shah said, although it was all for her benefit.⁸²

When Islam Shah saw that his wife had followed her own foolish opinion, he despaired, and said, "You know best. Your son is in great danger from Mubariz Khan, and you will in the end understand what I have just said." Saying this, he left the apartment, and ordered the Gwalior captives to be punished in the following way. He directed them to be placed in a building filled with gunpowder, which was then to be fired. This was done in the manner commanded by His Majesty. All the prisoners were blown into the air, and their limbs scattered, with the exception of Kamal Khan Ghakkar, who was seated in a corner of the dwelling, and who was preserved by the favour of the Almighty. When Islam Shah was told of this wonderful circumstance, Kamal Khan was brought from that place into the presence by the royal command, and an oath was administered to him that he would in future be a loyal subject, and only think how he could best benefit His Majesty's service. Kamal Khan consented to everything that Islam Shah said, and was set at liberty. After this, Islam Shah advanced Kamal Khan Ghakkar, and in a short time made him one of the chief grandees, appointed him to perform special and important services, and exalted and made him joyful by heaping royal favours on his head. His prosperity and dignity were vastly increased.

⁸¹ Ahmad Yadgar (MS., p. 344) calls him Mamrez Khan, and says that he feigned madness, in order to avoid the death or blinding which would otherwise necessarily have been his lot. It was for this reason only that, like Hamlet, "he put an antic disposition on."

⁸² Admirable moralist ! thus to censure a sister for not murdering her brother. Subsequent events, however, showed that such a fate would not have been undeserved.

Nearly at the same time he sent one of his courtiers, who was in an indigent condition, to perform a certain service, in the hope that his circumstances would thus be bettered. This person acted throughout the business with conscientious integrity, and after transacting it, returned. On another occasion he told the King how honestly he had behaved. Islam Shah was at that time severely disposed towards every one, and only repeated the following verse in reply :

“When you bestrode the horse of good fortune,
If you did not put him to his speed, what can a man do
for you ?” ⁸³

They say that during Islam Shah's reign a *darwesh*, Shaikh 'Alai by name, created a great disturbance by openly professing the religion of the Mahdi, and led many people astray. He collected an innumerable host of *fakirs* and *darweshes* about him, and was in the habit of traversing the *bazars*, and forbidding by every means in his power all acts contrary to the precepts of the Kur'an. His sect had its head-quarters at Bayana. At length, by the advice of his *murshid*, he set forth, accompanied by six or seven thousand followers, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. When he arrived at Khawaspur, which is in the Judhpur territory, Khawas Khan, who has before been mentioned, came forth to meet him, and joined him. When Islam Shah heard of these events, he summoned him to the presence. The Shaikh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles ; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased, and showed his disgust by the manner in which he answered “*Alaiku-s Salam.*” The courtiers were very wroth at this conduct. Mulla

⁸³ Admirable morality again ! A king blaming one of his provincial officers for not plundering the poor people, and feathering his own nest.

'Abdu-lla Sultanpuri, who was entitled Makhdumu-l Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Shaikh 'Alai, and decreed that he should be imprisoned.⁸¹ Islam Shah assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them to inquire into the matter. Shaikh 'Alai's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. Islam Shah said, "O Shaikh, forsake this mode of procedure, in order that I may appoint you censor (*muhtasib*) of all my dominions. Up to the present time you have taken upon yourself to forbid without my authority; henceforth you will do so with my consent." Shaikh 'Alai would not agree to this; and Islam Shah, refusing to listen to the suggestions of Mukhdumu-l Mulk with reference to the Shaikh's punishment, sent him to Hindia.

Bihar Khan Sarwani, who governed that district, embraced, with all his troops, Shaikh 'Alai's views. Makhdumu-l Muk related this circumstance in his most urgent manner, and gave the King intimation of the disturbances which were taking place. Islam Shah again summoned the Shaikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrines. Makhdumu-l Mulk said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to attain the rank of Mahdi, and the Mahdi is to govern the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part

⁸¹ This decree appears to have been given in the year 955 H., according to the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 207). Some additional particulars will be found in that work and in *Firishta*; but by others it is cursorily noticed, or not at all, though it must have created great agitation, as all such ferment do in India. Witness that of Saiyid Ahmad, from the expiring embers of which some northern zealots still manage to kindle the flame of fanaticism. These sectaries were commonly known as the "*Ghazi Mahdis*." They threw their property into a common stock, and many deserted their families. Some of them even went so far as to kill any one whom they considered to be engaged in the commission of sin. They had made so many magistrates and chiefs converts to their doctrines, that for a long time they committed their atrocities with impunity. [See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 480.]

with him ; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much injured."

Islam Shah, for the second time, paid no attention to what Makhdumu-l Mulk said, and sent Shaikh 'Alai into Bihar, to Shaikh Badh, a learned physician, in whom Sher Shah had placed much confidence, and respected him so much that he always assisted him in putting on his shoes by placing them before him. Islam Shah did this with the intention of acting according to whatever decree Shaikh Badh might give. At this time Islam Shah was in the Panjab, busied with the erection of the fort of Mankot. Shaikh Badh gave a decision similar to that of Makhdumu-l Mulk, and made it over to the King's messengers. Whilst this was transpiring, Shaikh 'Alai was seized by the pestilence which then prevailed, and his throat became ulcerated to such an extent that the instrument used for applying the salve penetrated the abscess to the depth of a finger. When they brought him before Islam Shah, he was too weak to speak. Islam Shah whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the Mahdi in order that he might be pardoned ; but Shaikh 'Alai would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, losing all hope of persuading him, ordered him to be scourged, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third blow, in the year 956 [1549 A.D.], as is shown by the chronogram "*Zikru-l Allah*." ⁸⁵ It is commonly reported that Shaikh 'Alai repeated a stanza in the presence of Islam Shah, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions, meditate on this verse of Shaikh Auhadu-din Kirmani :

I have one soul, and a thousand bodies !
But both soul and bodies belong entirely to me.
It is strange I have made myself another."

* * * * *

⁸⁵ Firishta says 955 A.H.

Islam Shah was at this time so desirous of overthrowing the great chiefs, that he thought of nothing else even for a single moment.⁸⁶ Some of the great nobles conspired together, with the intention of dethroning Islam Shah, and raising Mubariz Khan to the government. Islam Shah was informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The aforesaid chiefs, being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbar* all at once, but to go one by one. They thus contrived to go there without danger. Islam Shah was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was taken suddenly ill and confined to his bed in the fort of Gwalior, by a painful retention of urine, and a disease of the bladder. People say that he was afflicted by an imposthume in his privy parts. He never mentioned this circumstance to any one, and cauterized it with his own hand; but by doing this, he injured his health, and brought on great suffering and weakness. While in this state Islam Shah abused and spoke harshly to some of his most intimate friends and companions; and when the King came to his senses, Taj Khan Kirani, one of his principal nobles, said to him, "May the King prosper; this day I have heard words issue from his lips which he has not been accustomed to use." Islam Shah said, "O Taj Khan, I had great confidence in my own strength, and I have subdued all men; but this thing is stronger than I am, and I find myself weaker and more helpless than the ant. I now know myself!" After this he summoned Bibi Bai, and said, "I have the reins still

⁸⁶ The *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* (MS., p. 141) says that during two or three years he never presented any of them with an elephant. He seems, indeed, to have been particularly jealous of this royalty. It will be seen from the Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Badauni*, that each nobleman was only allowed to retain a single baggage-elephant.

in my hand, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubariz Khan to be removed." On this Bibi Bai began to weep. Islam Shah said, "You know best." And then suddenly, as he was speaking, he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 H.⁸⁷ Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. In the same year Sultan Mahmud Gujarati and Nizamu-l Mulk, of the Dekhin, also died, and the chronogram "*Zawal-i Khusrawan*" gives the date of the deaths of these three sovereigns, viz. A.H. 961.

Death vanquished three kings like Khusru in one year,
Through whose justice the land of Hind was the abode
of security.

One, Islam Shah, the monarch of Dehli,
Who was during his life-time a Sahib-Kiran;
The second, Mahmud Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat,
Whose age was as immature as his reign;
The third, Nizamu-l Mulk Bahri,
Who was a reigning sovereign in the Dekhin.
If you ask for the date of the deaths of these princess,
You will find it in the words "Ruin of Sovereigns."⁸⁸

Sher Shah and Islam Shah together reigned fifteen years and some months, and then quitted the world.⁸⁹

* * * * *

⁸⁷ 26th Zi-l hijia, 961 A.H. (November, 1554 A.D.). This is the date of the *Makhzan-i Afghani* and *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*. The latter informs us that his body was taken from Gwalior, and deposited at Sahsaram, near that of his father.

⁸⁸ *Zawal-i Khusrawan*. Firishta says his father wrote this chronogram.

⁸⁹ This is very inexact. The *Makhzan-i Afghani* fixes the period of Islam Shah's reign at eight years, nine months, and seven days: and gives the date of his death as quoted in the note above.

Taj Khan's flight.—His Defeat by 'Adali.—His Defeat by Himu.—Himu's star in the ascendant

On Taj Khan's hasty departure from the council at Gwalior 'Adali despatched an army in pursuit of him, and prepared to follow it in person. 'Adali came up with him at Chhabraman, forty *kos* from Agra,⁹⁰ and gave him a defeat, which compelled him to fly towards Chunar. On his way thither, he had seized various provincial officers of 'Adali, and obtained from them whatever he could, either in money or goods. He also obtained 100 of the public elephants which he had found foraging in the *parganas* near the river. Taj Khan then went to 'Imad and Sulaiman and Khwaja Ilyas, his brothers, who governed in Khawaspur Tunda, and other *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges, and who were encouraged in their disaffection by all the Afghans of the neighbourhood.⁹¹ 'Adali also went to Chunar, with the view of bringing away his treasure, and despatching an army against the revolted Kiranis. Himu desired that a large body of elephants might be attached to him during these operations, in order that he might at once cross the river and punish the rebels. Accordingly, a large number of these animals were left at his disposal, as well as a powerful force placed under his absolute command. Himu drew out his troops in battle array, and through the effect of some skyey influences, gave a complete defeat to the Kiranis, and returned glorious and triumphant to his master, who received him with great honour, bestowing upon him the title of Raja Bikramajit. From that period, the whole management of the State devolved upon him, and so entirely did he assume the mastery, that no public order emanated from 'Adali, who, however, remained free to regulate his own bread and water,

⁹⁰ [See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 489.]

⁹¹ All this is confirmed by the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 224).

and retained still the treasury and elephants in his own charge.⁹²

* * * * *

*Himu's two victories over Ibrahim Khan Sur near Agra.—
His Defeat of Muhammad Khan Gauria*

Ibrahim on his flight to Sambhal, after his defeat by Sikandar near Agra, organized a new force, and again put himself in motion towards Kalpi. 'Adali, when he heard of Ibrahim's arrival at Kalpi, sent Himu his minister, who had been a corn-chandler, at the head of 500 elephants and an immense park of artillery, towards Agra and Dehli, with directions that he should first punish Ibrahim, and then advance subsequently to Agra. Himu met Ibrahim at Agra; a severe battle ensued, in which the former was again victorious, and Ibrahim fled to his father at Bayana. Thither he was pursued by Himu, who invested Bayana for a period of three months.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Khan Sur, ruler of Bengal, raised the standard of opposition, and at the head of a large army advanced with the intention of conquering Jaunpur, Kalpi, and Agra. 'Adali, on being informed of this, ordered Himu to raise the siege of Bayana, and return to his presence. When he had reached Marhakhar, six *kos* from Agra, Ibrahim came up and forced him to action, but was again put to flight, and being ashamed to return to his father, went to Patna, where he fought with Ramchand, Raja of that place, and was taken prisoner. His captor seated him on a throne, and appeared in attendance upon him as a menial servant, with joined hands.⁹³ Ibrahim remained there a long time, and then went to Orissa, which is on the extreme borders of Bengal, where he was treacherously put to death by Mian Sulaiman Kirani, who had sworn before God to protect him.

⁹² Here follows an account of Ibrahim Khan Sur's defection.

⁹³ This deference, the reason of which is not very evident, is also vouched for by the *Makhzan-i Afghani* and *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahani*.

Himu, after his victory over Ibrahim, returned to 'Adali, who fought a severe action with Muhammad Khan Gauria, ruler of Bengal, at Chapparghatta, eleven *kos* from Kalpi; ⁹⁴ who being deserted by his troops, was left to maintain the conquest alone, and, consequently, soon fell a victim to their treachery.

Surrender and Death of Sikandar Khan Sur.—Death of 'Adali.—Defeat of his son by the Mughals of Jaunpur, and his subsequent seclusion.—Mian Sulaiman.—Bayazid.—Daud Shah.—His murder of Lodi.—His flight from Patna.—Death of Mun'im Khan and of Daud Shah.—Conclusion.

Sikandar Khan being reduced to great extremities, sent his son 'Abdur Rahman from Mankot in the Siwalik hills, to Akbar Badshah, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the few rarities he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender.

As for 'Adali, at the time of Himu's death he was at Chunar, and at that juncture the son of Muhammad Khan, by name Khizr Khan, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the name of Sultan Bahadur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father; and 'Adali proceeded into Bihar to meet him as far as Mungir. Meanwhile, after leaving Patna, the river Panpan, which is in Malurusa (?), flows with so tortuous a course that it became necessary to cross it several times. The sun had not yet risen when Sultan Bahadur, with his army

⁹⁴ It is not quite plain from this passage, but appears from the corresponding statement in the *Makhzan-i Afghani* and *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*, that Himu had his full share of this victory also, though it was not a very glorious one.

in array, made an attack upon 'Adali, and sounded the kettle-drums of war. 'Adali had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Surajgarh, about one *kos*, more or less, from Mungir, and about twelve *kos* from Patna, and there 'Adali was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 968 H. (1560 A.D.), after a reign of eight years.

When the news of this calamity reached his son at Chunar, the Afghan nobles unanimously seated him on the *Masnad*. He assumed the title of Sher Shah, and all the *sipahis* and nobles renewed their oaths of allegiance. They represented that if they were now to go out and demand vengeance for the death of 'Adali, the Mughals would spread over Hindustan, and subjugate the whole country. They should first of all conquer Jaunpur, and having repulsed the Mughal armies from that quarter, after that, please God! they would inflict condign punishment upon Sultan Bahadur. With this intent, having first read the *fatihah*, the son of 'Adali set forth, with 20,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 500 elephants, to capture Jaunpur. At that time Khan Zaman held the government of that place under Akbar Badshah, and conceiving himself quite unable to cope in the open field with so large a force, he collected all the means necessary for defensive operations, and suffered himself to be invested without opposition. The Afghans, seeing the distress of the Mughals, crossed the river Sye, on which Jaunpur is built, in full force. Hasan Khan Bachgoti and Rukn Khan Lohani leading the advance, made an immediate attack upon Khan Zaman; who, putting his trust solely on Him who could defend him in the hour of need, sallied from the fort, with 4000 cavalry, and fell upon the Afghans. Fortune had so far entirely deserted the latter, that their splendid army of 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry fled before the 4000 Mughals in such a crippled state that not a vestige of them remained. Immense booty fell into the hands of Khan Zaman. The

son of 'Adali adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.

The tribe of Afghans was dispersed—some became *fakirs*, and some attached themselves to Mian Sulaiman Kirani. The Mian styled himself Hazrat 'Ali, and brought the greater portion of Bengal under his sway. Kings and other chiefs sent offerings to him, and Akbar Badshah offered no opposition to his claims. On the death of Sulaiman, his eldest son Bayazid succeeded his father. This prince, being of a haughty disposition, not only neglected to imitate his father in his kindly method of treating his self-sufficient Afghans, but did his best to distress and humiliate them. He showed a desire of getting rid of his father's courtiers. On this account, several of the nobles joined themselves with the son-in-law and nephew of Hazrat 'Ali, the latter of whom, by name Hasu, was of weak intellect, and put Mian Bayazid to death. Mian Lodi, a grantee of Mian Sulaiman, who held the chief authority in the State, gained over the Afghans, and raised Daud, the youngest son of Hazrat 'Ali, to the throne, with the title of Daud. Daud Shah, having opened the door of enjoyment, indulged in intoxicating drinks, and thus sowed the seeds of dissension. He would often repeat this verse :

"If my father is dead, I am the guardian of the world !
I am the inheritor of the crown of Sulaiman.

He then proceeded to attack Jaunpur with his Afghans, and despatched Lodi before him with an innumerable force. Lodi first attacked Zamania, which had been built by Khan Zaman. It was reduced to a desert, and no signs of cultivation remained. Mun'im Khan quitted Jaunpur, and when he saw that the Afghan army was large, and the Mughals few in number, he opened, by way of augury, the *Diwan* of Khwaja Hafiz, who is called the *Lisanu-l Ghaib*, or "tongue of the inscrutable," and found this verse :

"O King, amongst the beautiful, render justice to the
grief of my loneliness,

My heart is sorely distressed through your absence,
it is time that you should return."

Mun'im Khan⁹⁵ sent this couplet, together with an account of what had occurred, to King Akbar, who despatched an immense army to Mun'im Khan's assistance, and also followed it in person. Daud Shah arrived in Mungir from Bengal, and there he allowed unjustifiable suspicions to enter his head. Many persons endeavoured to impress on him that Lodi would certainly try to make Taj, the nephew of Hazrat 'Ali, king, because Lodi had been long attached to that family, and had, moreover, betrothed his own daughter to him. Daud Shah caused his own cousin Yusuf to be slain at Mungir, and became very suspicious of Lodi.

When Lodi perceived the evil disposition of Daud, he made peace with Mun'im Khan, and expressed a wish to be taken to King Akbar. Jalal Khan Sadhauri, and Raju, surnamed the "Black Mountain," deserted Lodi, presented themselves before Daud, and related what had happened. Daud Shah then opened his father's treasury to the army, and, by the advice of Gujar Khan, addressed a *farman* to Lodi, in which he said, "You are in the place of my father Mian Sulaiman. All my power depends on your wisdom and valour. My army, treasury, and artillery are all at your command. Endeavour by all the means in your power to put this race of Mughals to shame." When Lodi learned the contents of this *farman*, his heart was moved by the soft and flattering words of Daud, and he again joined his party. Thus deceived Lodi left the Mughals, and allied himself to Daud, who being a young and hasty man, possessed of but little sense, desired to kill him, and thought that his doing so would be beneficial to the State. After a short time, Daud wrote to Lodi, and

⁹⁵ He was general of the Imperialists, and his title was *Khan-khanan*.

told him that he required his presence immediately, as he wished to consult him on some important business, and that he must come quickly, accompanied only by his two *vakils*. On receiving this letter, Lodi said to his friends, "I perceive an odour in this summons which portends no good to me." Having said this, he went to Daud, who at first treated him with great respect, but afterwards determined to imprison him, which he effected by treachery. * * * Daud Shah thoughtlessly listened to the advice of Katlu, who recommended the death of Lodi, and causing that pillar of the State to be put to death, he thus destroyed his empire with his own hands.

A still greater dispersion of the Afghans took place after the murder of Lodi, and Mun'im Khan took advantage of the opportunity from Agra to Patna, the inhabitants of which place he put to the sword. Shah Daud remained a few days in the fort of Patna. At last Katlu gave him some narcotic draught,⁹⁶ put him into a boat, and then escaped with him on the river Ganges. At this period Akbar captured many elephants. Many Afghans, who were with Gujar Khan, were drowned in the Panpan river, about two *kos* from Patna. Akbar pursued Daud as far as Daryapur, and returned from thence, having first laid the foundation of a mosque in that place; whilst Mun'im Khan, accompanied by the best officers, continued the pursuit of Daud. Several encounters took place between Shah Daud and Mun'im Khan. My heart urges me to give a detailed relation of these events, but I must be brief. At last Daud and Mun'im Khan made peace, and met at Mun'im Khan's tents, confirming the truce by the grasping of hands.

The changeful climate of Bengal caused the plague to break out in the Mughal army which remained at Gaur; many distinguished officers gave up their lives into the hands of the angel of death. Mun'im Khan also died of

⁹⁶ This was, as we learn from the *Mokhzan-i Afghani* and *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*, because he was opposed to his nobles, with respect to the necessity either of immediate flight or surrender.

that epidemic.⁹⁷ Shah Daud again issued forth after the death of Mun'im Khan, in whose place Khan Jahan Khan was appointed governor. War again broke out between these two chiefs; and on the 15th day of the month Rabi'u-s sani, in the year of the Hijra 988,⁹⁸ the army of the Mughals being firmly determined either to slay Daud or fall themselves, met him in the battle-field; where, after many valiant recontres, the Kala Pahar, or "Black Mountain," who led the advanced guard of the Afghans, was repulsed and slain. The Afghans were then put to flight.⁹⁹ Daud Shah Kirani was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khan Jahan, seeing Daud in this condition, asked him if he called himself a Musulman, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the Kur'an and before God. Daud answered that he had made the peace with Mun'im Khan personally; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to renew it. Khan Jahan ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Firishta, following Abu-l Fazl, dates Mun'im Khan's death on the 9th of Rajab, 983 A.H. (12th October, 1575 A.D.).

⁹⁸ [Sic.; but see the chronogram that follows, which makes it 983, with which Firishta agrees.]

⁹⁹ All these events will be considered in greater detail under the events of the Timurian period.

¹⁰⁰ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* represents that this defeat was entirely owing to the treachery of Katlu Lohani, who was rewarded by the settlement upon him of some *parganas*, by withdrawing from the field at a favourable juncture. Daud is said by the same authority to have been slain in action. All this is confirmed in the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan*. Daud Shah is also said in the *Makhzan-i Afghani* to have been distinguished by his integrity and propriety of behaviour; but we find nothing in history to warrant this eulogium. It does not appear that the power of the Lohani Afghans entirely expired with Daud Shah, for we find his younger brother, Khwaja 'Usman, maintaining a fruitless struggle for twenty years against the Mughals, which was not finally concluded till A.H. 1021, in the reign of Jahangir. The treacherous Katlu also, as was to have been expected, turned his arms against those to whom he had sold his country. More will be found respecting these transactions in the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* and the Timurian histories by any one anxious to extend his inquiries.

The date of this transaction may be learnt from this verse.—*Mulk i Sulaiman zi Daud raft* (983 H., 1575 A.D.).

From that period the dominion of Hindustan departed from the tribe of Afghans, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever. In lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shah's supremacy over the whole country.

MATLA' U-S ŠA'DAIN

OF

'ABDU-R RAZZAK

THE full title of this valuable work is *Matla'u-s Sa'dain wa Majma'u-l Bahrain*, "The Rising of the two fortunate Planets (Jupiter and Venus), and the Junction of the two Seas," composed by Kamalu-d din 'Abdu-r Razzak bin Jalalu-d din Is'hak as Samarkandi. The author of the *Habibu-s Siyar* thus speaks of 'Abdu-r Razzak.

"Kamalu-d din 'Abdu-r Razzak was a son of Jalalu-d din Is'hak, of Samarkand, and was born at Hirat on the 12th Sha'ban, A.H. 816 (6th November, 1413 A.D.). His father Is'hak resided at the Court of Sultan Shah Rukh, in quality of *Kazi* and *Imam*, and was sometimes consulted on points of law, and desired to read learned treatises in His Majesty's presence. 'Abdu-r Razzak, after his father's death, in the year 841 (A.D. 1437), wrote a comment on Azdu-d din Yahya's Treatise upon Arabic Propositions and Pronouns, and dedicated it to Sultan Shah Rukh, on which occasion he had the honour to kiss His Majesty's hand. In the latter part of that prince's reign, he went as his ambassador to the King of Bijanagar, and experienced various extraordinary incidents and vicissitudes on that journey, but at length returned to Khurasan in safety. After the death of Sultan Shah Rukh, he was successively admitted to the presence of Mirza 'Abdu-l Latif, Mirza 'Abdu-llah, and Mirza Abu-l Kasim; and in the first Jumad of 877 (October, 1472), under the reign of Sultan Abu Sa'id, he was appointed superintendent of the *khankah* of Mirza Shah Rukh, where he continued to the time of his death, which happened in the latter Jumad of the year 887 (August, 1482).¹ Among the

¹ "Haji Khalfa, v., p. 603. Biog. Universelle. Not. et Ext. des MSS., xiv., p. 3." The *Habibu-s Siyar* gives the date of the author's death as A.H. 880, A.D. 1475. So also does D'Herbelot, v. "Schahrokh."

excellent productions of his pen is that useful work the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*, which is in every one's hand, and is universally known; and in which he has given a general history of events from the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan down to the assassination of Mirza Sultan Abu Sa'id Gurgan."

[Morley in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, uses the above biography, but makes the following additions: "In A.H. 850 (A.D. 1446), 'Abdu-r Razzak was sent on an embassy into Gilan, and had scarcely fulfilled his mission, when he was ordered to depart for Egypt, with the title of ambassador. The death of his master, however, prevented his journey."

"In 856 (A.D. 1452), the Sultan Abu-l Kasim Babar, passing through the town of Taft Yazd, had an interview with the celebrated historian Sharafu-d din 'Ali Yazdi, and our author was present at the conference. Two years afterwards he became attached to the person of the Sultan Abu Sa'id, who treated him with the greatest honour; and in A.H. 863 (A.D. 1458), when Sultan Bahadur undertook an expedition into Jurjan, our author, who had been sent on a mission into that part of the country, had an opportunity of witnessing most of the events of the war."

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"Vol. I. Commencing with the birth of Abu Sa'id, son of Uljaitu Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah.—The history of Timur, from the rise of his fortunes to his death, *i.e.*, from A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304) to A.H. 807 (A.D. 1404), giving a detailed account of his reign in 'Irak, Turan, and other countries.²

"Vol. II. The history of Timur's descendants, from the accession of Shah Rukh, in A.H. 807 (A.D. 1404), to that

² "I have not seen this first volume, and have given the contents from the catalogue of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, p. 287."—Morley.

of Sultan Hasan Mirza, in A.H. 875 (A.D. 1470), the time when the author wrote."]

'Abdu-r Razzak's embassy to India does not seem to be related either in the *Rauzat-u-s Safa* or the *Habibu-s Siyar*, though their narrative of that period is copious.

This history is not so well known in India as in Europe. The best MS. I have seen in India is in the possession of Muhammad Raziya-u-d din, chief judge of Allahabad. It is a well written folio in the *Naskh* character, containing in the first division 426, and in the second 452 pages, of thirty-one lines to a page. There are copies in the British Museum, the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, and other public collections. [The second volume seems to be more common than the first; the Library of the East India Office has a copy, and so had³ the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. This professed to be an autograph copy of the author, but Morley saw reason to doubt the truth of this statement. The India Office copy, which is a finely written folio with illustrations, written in the year 1601 A.D., has been used by the editor for the following Extracts respecting the Embassy to India.]

[There is among Sir H. Elliot's papers a copy of that portion of the first volume which relates the history of Timur's expedition to India. On comparing this account with the *Mal-fuzat-i Timuri* and the *Zafar-nama*, it proves to be a mere reproduction of Timur's own narrative. 'Abdu-r Razzak evidently used both the memoirs and the *Zafar-nama*. His narrative is less verbose than Timur's, and more simple in style than the language of Sharafu-d din; still the details are essentially the same, the facts being related in the same order without addition, modification, or comment. So notwithstanding the high reputation of the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain*, this portion of the work proves, like the celebrated *Zafar-nama*, to be nothing more than another version of Timur's memoirs. Three

³ The past tense is used because the MS. is now missing.

short Extracts have been printed as specimens. The Extracts relating to the author's Embassy to India were translated by an English gentleman,⁴ and have been revised and annotated by Sir H. M. Elliot.] See Vol. II in this series—*Autobiography of Timur and Zafar Nama* of Sharafuddin.

⁵ "A fragment of the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain* relating to the Embassy to China, in the time of Shah Rukh, and translated by Galland, was printed in Thevenot's collection of voyages; this fragment re-appeared in Prevost's *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, and was again translated into Dutch, and inserted in Witsen's great work, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*. The account of the embassies and letters that passed between the Emperor of China and Shah Rukh was published at Calcutta, in Persian an English, by W. Chambers,⁶ and was afterwards translated into French by M. Langles.⁷ The latter Orientalist also gave an account of the work in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*,⁸ and introduced a version of 'Abdu-r Razzak's description of India into the second volume of his *Recueil portatif des Voyages*. M. Charmoy has given a short notice of the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain*, together with the text and translation of an extract from it relating to Timur's expedition against Tuktamish Khan, in the *Memoirs de l'Academie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*.⁹ The most satisfactory description of the work will be found, however, in the elaborate article by M. Quatremere, in the fourteenth volume of the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*¹⁰ The learned Academician has given a French translation of a great portion of the life of Shah Rukh; and the text,

⁴ Probably C. J. Oldfield.

⁵ Morley's Catalogue.

⁶ Asiatick Miscellany, vol. i. p. 71, Calcutta, 1785.

⁷ Ambassades reciproques d'un Roi des Indes, de la Perse, etc., et d'un Empereur de la Chine. 8vo. Paris. 1788.

⁸ Tome v., p. 333, note.

⁹ Tome iii. 6me serie, pp. 94, 245, 422.

¹⁰ Notices et Extraits, vol. xiv., prem. partie, p. 1. "Langles does not translate, but abstracts, and is not so literal and exact as Quatremere."—Note by Sir H. M. Elliot.

accompanied by a version in French, of two other extracts from 'Abdu-r Razzak's history, relating respectively to the voyage of the ambassadors of Shah Rukh to China, and to that of 'Abdu-r Razzak himself to India. M. Quatremere passes the most favourable judgment as to the merits of the work, saying, that it is incontestably one of the most curious and veracious histories that have been written in any of the Eastern languages.¹¹

EXTRACTS

Timur's passage of the Indus

The "Sahib Kiran" Timur having exterminated the Aughani forces, on the 1st of the month Muharram returned to the fort of Naghz, and appointed Shah 'Ali Farahi with a force of 700 cavalry and a company of foot soldiers, as guard of that place, so that if the royal army should go any distance, the ambassadors and servants of the princes might have easy ingress and egress, and be fearless of the Aughani robbers. On the 8th of the same month, Timur pitched his camp on the banks of the river Sindh, in the same place that Sultan Jalalu-d din Khwarizm Shah crossed the river in his flight from Changiz Khan, and where the latter rested without crossing the river. Timur ordered that boats should be collected and a bridge be made for crossing the river. Saiyid Muhammad, of Medina, who had been to Mecca and Medina, said that "the nobles of these countries having humiliated themselves, are anxiously awaiting your presence." The ambassador of Shah Sikandar, King of Kashmir, according to orders, appeared before the king, and offered the service and submission of his master. Timur having honoured Saiyid Muhammad, dismissed him, and also having conferred royal favours on the

¹¹ See also *Jahrbücher*, No. 71, p. 32. Dorn, *Geschichte Tabaristans*, 142. *Journ. Asiatique*, 3me serie, vol. ii., and 4me serie, vol. iv. Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. i., app. 2. Dorn's *Afghans*, part ii., p. 62. Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i., p. 163. *Biog. Univer.* vii., 621. *Calcutta Review*, xxi. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800.

ambassador, sent word for Sikandar Shah to join the royal army at the city of Dipalpur, in Hind.

The king on the 12th day of the month, having crossed the river Sindh, pitched his camp near the Chol-Jarad, which jungle is now known as the "Chol-i Jalali." The cause of this fame is, that Sultan Jalalu-d din, when he fled from Changiz Khan, crossed the river and came to this *chol*, and so escaped. All the chiefs of the hills of Jud came and professed their subjection to Timur. Before this Amir Rustam Taghai Bukai Birlas, according to the royal order, had gone in the direction of Multan, and on account of the rain, had proceeded by the way of the mountains of Jud. The nobles of this place then supplied him with provisions, and rendered acceptable services to him. Timur having approved their services, showed them kindness, and conferred honours upon them.

Opposition of Shahabu-d din

Shahabu-d din Mubarak was prince of an island on the side of the river Jamd; he had in his service a large number of fighting men. When Prince Pir Muhammad appeared on the frontier of Multan, Shahabu-d din paid homage to him, and was treated with great consideration, but on his return to the island, seeing the strength of his island and the security afforded by the river, the thought of rebellion entered into his head. Timur having left the Chol-i Jalali, came and encamped on the banks of the Jamd, and being aware of the rebellion of Shahabu-d din, on the 14th day of the month, he sent Mir Shaikh Nuru-d din with a large army against him.

Massacre of Hindu Prisoners

At this Court the princes and *amirs* represented to His Majesty, that between the time of his crossing the river Sindh and of his reaching this place, 100,000 infidels had been made prisoners, and it was to be feared that in the day of battle they would incline to the people of Dehli, and would join them. On that day, Mallu Khan had

come as far as the Jahan-numa. The intelligence of this movement having spread through the camp, had reached the prisoners, and they communicated the good news to each other. Timur listened to this considerate and wise advice, and gave orders for putting the prisoners to death. Every one who failed in the execution of this order was to be killed, and his property was to become the possession of the man who reported his dereliction of duty. In execution of this order, 100,000 Hindus were slain with the sword of holy war. Maulana Nasiru-d din, one of the chief ecclesiastics, who in all his life had never slaughtered a sheep, put fifteen Hindus to the sword.

Embassy to Hindustan

During the course of the year 845 H. (21st May, 1441), the author of this history, 'Abdu-r Razzak, the son of Is'hak, under the orders of the sovereign of the world, prepared to set out for the province of Hormuz, and the shores of the ocean. * * * *

On the 18th of Ramazan I arrived at the pure abode of Kirman, a place of importance, as well as of delight and rapture. * * *

On the 5th of Shawwal, I departed from Kirman, and on my road had an interview with the Amir Haji Muhammad, who was on his return from plundering the province of Banpur,¹² and in the middle of the month I arrived on the shore of the sea of 'Uman and the port of Hormuz, the governor of which place, Malik Fakhru-d-din Turau Shah, sent me a boat, in which I arrived at the city of Hormuz. He assigned me a house and all necessary appurtenances, and I was admitted to an interview with the king.

This Hormuz, which is also called Jerun, is a seaport, which has not its parallel on the face of the earth. The

¹² M. Quatremere reads Ben-boul. Pottinger describes Banpur as a fort containing about one hundred wretched inhabitants, and situated in an extensive plain indifferently cultivated.

merchants of the seven climates resort to it, such as those of Egypt, Syria, Rum, Azarbaijan, the two 'Iraks Fars, Khurasan, Mawarau-n-nahr, Turkistan, Dasht-i-Kipchak, the Kalmak country, and all the kingdoms of the East, Chin, Machin, and Khanbalik. Hither also those who dwell on the shores of the sea bring commodities from Chin, Java, Bengal, Ceylon, the cities of Zirbad, Tanasiri,¹³ Sacotra, and the ninety cities of the islands of Diwah-Mahall,¹⁴ the countries of Malabar, Abyssinia, Zangebar, the ports of Bijanagar, Kulbarga, Gujarat, Kanba (Cambay), the coasts of Arabia as far as Aden, Jiddah, and Jambo (?). All these are the bearers of such merchandize, precious and rare, as the sun and the moon and the rains contribute to embellish. Travellers come hither from all parts of the world, and without difficulty replace what they bring by articles which they require of equivalent value. They transact their business for cash or by barter. They pay on every article a custom-duty of a tenth, with the exception of gold and silver. Professors of various religions, and even infidels abound in that city,

¹³ This is the way Tenasserim is usually written by our old voyagers. The differences are thus marked by a Dutch voyager :—"Tanassery . . . by einigen, als J. de Barros, Od. Barbosa, Willem Metold, en Barthema, 'Tenasseri,' or 'Tarnassari'; by Linschooten 'Tanasserin,' en by Jurrieh 'Tanassery,' geheeten."—*Vervaaarlyke Schip-breuch vant Oost Indisch Jacht ter Schellingk*, p. 90 (Amstd., 1675),—usually bound up with J. Jansen Struys' *Voyagien door Moscovien*, etc. (Amstd., 1677). Ralph Fitch and J. Lancaster have "Taoaseri."—Hakluyt's *Voyages, Navigations*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 396, 592. Navarette has "Tanassary."—*Vide* Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. vi., p. 753. Baldaeus, "Tanasseri."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 521. Gemelli Careri, "Tanasserri."—*Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 235. He also uses "Tenazarim."—*Ibid.*, p. 269. "Tanacerim," in Antonie Galvano's *Discoveries of the World*, in Hakluyt's *Voyages, Navigations*, etc., vol. iv., p. 423. And earlier than all these, Nicolo Conti, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, visited "Tarnassari."—Ramusio, *Raccolta di Nav. et Viaggi*, tom. i. Sir Thomas Herbert has "Tarnassari," "Tanassery," and "Tarnesseri."—*Some Years' Travels into Asia the Great*, pp. 336, 346.

¹⁴ M. Langles (note 13) considers this to be Diu, but the expression of "the islands," shows that the "Maldive" islands must be meant, being a corruption from the Arabic name. [The words of the text are *wa shahar-inud juzair diw mahal*.

and no measure of injustice is permitted to any one in it; hence the city is "called the abode of security (*daru-l aman*).” The inhabitants combine the courtesy of the 'Irakis with the subtlety of the Hindus.

I remained there two months, the rulers of it having searched for all kinds of excuses to detain me; insomuch, that the time favourable for proceeding to sea, viz., the beginning and middle of the monsoon, elapsed, and it was not till the end of it, when storms and tempests are to be feared, that they allowed me to depart. As men and horses could not go in one ship, they were separated and placed in different ships. So we hoisted sail and departed.

When the stink of the vessel affected my senses, and the dread of the sea was experienced, I fell into such a swoon that, for three days, my breathing alone indicated that I was alive. When I came a little to myself, the merchants, who were my intimate friends, exclaimed with one accord that the season of navigation was already past, and whoever exposed himself to the perils of the sea at such a time would alone be responsible for his own death, since he voluntarily sought it. All of them accordingly having sacrificed the sums which they had paid as freight, relinquished their design, and after some difficulties, disembarked at the port of Maskat.

As for me, attended by my intimate friends, I went from Maskat to a place called Kariat, and there I took up my abode. The merchants of the sea, when the objects of your voyage are not accomplished, and you are compelled to sojourn in a place other than that of your destination, say you are reduced to a state of *tabahi*. In consequence of the revolutions of a merciless heaven, and the ill-luck of a treacherous destiny, my heart was shattered like glass. I was tired of life, and reduced to great extremities. * * * *

While I was, against my will, detained at Kariat, and on the seashore, the moon of the Muharam of 846H.

(12th May, 1442), developed the beauty of her crescent in that abode of grief. Although it was the season of the vernal equinox, the heat of the sun was so intense, that the rubies were dissolved in their mines, and the marrow was dried up in the bones. * * * My eldest brother, myself, and companions fell ill through the excessive heat, [*and in this situation we remained for four months.*] * * * Having learnt that in the neighbourhood of Kalahat there was a place called Saur, which possessed an equable temperature, and was supplied with good water, I embarked on a vessel to go to that place, notwithstanding my weakness; but when I arrived there, my illness increased.¹⁵ * * *

At length I departed for Hindustan, and after a voyage of eighteen days and nights, [*during which the freshness of the sea-breeze restored my health,*] we cast anchor, by the aid of God, in the port of Kalikot; and now I proceed to recount naturally, and without any effort, the marvels of that country, and my travels in it.

*My arrival in Hindustan, and an account of the
Condition, Customs, and Marvels of that Country*

KALIKOT is a perfectly safe harbour, and like that of Hormuz brings together merchants of every city and every country. Here also one finds in abundance rarities brought from maritime countries, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, and Zangebar. From time to time ships arrive from the direction of the House of God (Mecca), and other parts of Hijjaz, and remain at will for some time in this port. It is a city inhabited by infidels, and therefore a legitimate object of conquest to us. Several Musulmans reside in it, and they have built two cathedral mosques there, where they assemble on Fridays to pray. They have a *kazi*, a religious man, and for the most part they belong to the sect of Shafi'i. Such security and justice reign in that city that rich merchants bring to it from

¹⁵ His brother, Maulana 'Afif-d-din 'Abdu-l wahab, died during the sojourn at this place.

maritime countries large cargoes of merchandize, which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market-places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one's charge, or placing it under a guard. The officers of the custom-house have it under their protection, and night and day keep guard round it.¹⁶ If it is sold, they take a custom duty of two and a half per cent., otherwise they offer no kind of interference. It is a practice at other ports, that if any vessel be consigned to any particular mart, and unfortunately by the decree of the Almighty it be driven to any other than that to which it is destined, under the plea that it is sent by the winds, the people plunder it; but at Kalikot every vessel, wherever it comes from, and whichever way it arrives, is treated like any other, and no sort of trouble is experienced by it.¹⁷

His Majesty, the Khakan-i Sa'id, had sent to the ruler of Kalikot horses and pelisses, robes of golden tissue, and caps, such as are presented at the festival of the new year. The reason of this was that the ambassadors of that emperor, on their return from Bengal, had been forced to put in at Kalikot, and the report which they made of the greatness and power of His Majesty reached the ear of the ruler of that place. He learnt from trustworthy authorities that the Sultans of the fourth inhabited quarter of the globe, both of the east and of the west, of the land and of the sea, despatched embassies to that monarch, and regarded his Court as the *kibla* of their necessities, and the *ka'ba* of their thoughts.

Shortly after this, the King of Bengal having complained of the hostilities he was suffering from Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur, sought protection from the Court, which is the asylum of Sultans; upon which His Majesty despatched to Jaunpur Shaikhu-l islam Khwaja Karimu-d din Abu-al makarim Jami, as the bearer of an imperial

¹⁶ The Arabian merchants were struck with a somewhat similar practice on their voyage to China.

¹⁷ See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 685.

rescript, directing the ruler of Jaunpur to abstain from attacking the King of Bengal, or to take the consequences upon himself. To which intimation the ruler of Jaunpur was obedient, and desisted from his attacks upon Bengal. When the ruler of Kalikot heard this intelligence, he collected all kinds of presents and rarities, and sent them by the hand of an envoy, representing that in his port prayers and the Muhammadan *khutba* were read on Fridays and on festivals; and that if His Majesty sanctioned the measure, they should be embellished and honoured by his august name and titles.

His messenger, in the company of the ambassadors who were coming from Bengal, arrived at the august Court, and the nobles made known his representation and displayed his presents. The envoy was a Musulman, endowed with eloquence, who represented in his address that if His Majesty would enter into relations with his master, and send special ambassadors to him, who, following the sacred ordinance,—“by your wisdom and excellent advice persuade them to enter into the ways of your Lord,”—should invite him to embrace the Muhammadan religion, should open the bolt of darkness and infidelity from his unenlightened mind, and should kindle in the window of his heart the flame of the beam of faith, and the splendour of the light of knowledge, it would certainly be a holy and meritorious act. His Majesty, acceding to this request, ordered his ministers to despatch an ambassador, and the lot fell upon this humble individual. Some laboured to persuade me that I should not return from this voyage; but, dangerous as it was, I did return from it in good health after three years, when my opponents were themselves no longer alive.

Visit to Kalikot

IN short, when I disembarked at Kalikot, I saw a tribe of people, the like of which had never even entered my dreams.

"A strange kind of tribe, neither man nor demon,
At the sight of which one's senses were startled ;
If I had seen anything like them in my dreams,
My heart would have been disturbed for years.
I have loved a moon-faced beauty,
But I cannot fall in love with every black woman."

The blacks of this country go about with nearly naked bodies, wearing only pieces of cloth called *langots*, extending from their navels to above their knees.¹⁸ In one hand they bear a Hindi dagger (bright) as a drop of water, and in the other a shield made of cow's hide, large as a portion of cloud. The king and the beggar both go about in this way, but the Musulmans clothe themselves in costly garments, like the Arabs, and display various kinds of luxuries.

I had interviews with several Musulmans and a crowd of infidels, and a convenient lodging was assigned me, and after three days they took me to see the king. I saw a man with his body naked, like the other Hindus.¹⁹ They call the king of that place Samuri, and when he dies, they place on the throne his sister's son, and do not bestow it upon his son, his brother, or his other relatives. No one becomes king by force of arms. The infidels are of various tribes, Brahmans, *yogis*, and others, who all alike participate in plural-worship and idol-worship. Every tribe has its peculiar customs.

¹⁸ The nakedness of the people of these parts struck also our earlier voyagers. Thomas Stevens, writing in 1579, says : "They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string, and no more : and thus they thinke them as well as we do with all our trimming."—Haklüt's *Voyages, Navigation, Traffiques, and Discoveries*, vol. ii., p. 585.

¹⁹ De Faria y Sousa gives a very different account of the Samuri's appearance, when Vasco de Gama and Pedro Cabral were received. His whole dress and person were then covered with gold, pearls, and diamonds, though he was still somewhat deficient in garments.—*History of Discoveries in Asia*, vol. ii., pp. 47, 59, and Astley's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i., p. 32, 43. See also Ludovico Barthelema, fol. 169. Renaudot's *Anciennes Relations*, p. 123.

Among them is a tribe in which one woman has several husbands, of which each engages in a separate occupation. They divide the hours of the night and day amongst themselves, and as long as any one of them remains in the house during his appointed time, no other one can enter. The Samuri is of that tribe.

When I had my audience with the Samuri, the assembly consisted of 2,000 or 3,000 Hindus, clad in the manner above mentioned, and the chief Musulmans were also there. After they had made me sit down, they read the letter of credentials sent by His Majesty, the Khakan-i Sa'id, and the presents which I had brought were displayed. The Samuri paid but little respect to my embassy, so leaving the Court I returned home. The party of men whom the King of Hormuz had despatched on a separate ship, with several horses and other goods collected from various quarters, were taken on their voyage by hard-hearted corsairs, robbed of all their goods, and with difficulty escaped with their lives. On their arrival at Kalikot, I was rejoiced at the sight of my old friend.

From the close of Jumada-l akhir to the beginning of Zi-hijja, I remained in that wretched place, a comrade of trouble and a companion of sorrow. In the middle of it, during one night of profound darkness and weary length, in which sleep, as an imperious tyrant, captivated my senses and closed the door of my eyelids, after all kinds of troubles, I was sleeping on my bed of repose, when I saw in a dream His Majesty the Khakan, who advanced towards me, with all the pomp of sovereignty, and arriving near me, said, "cease to trouble yourself."

In the morning, after saying my prayers, the dream recurred to my mind and made me happy. Although ordinarily dreams are purely reveries of the imagination, which are rarely realized in a waking state, nevertheless, sometimes they turn out exactly true, and are considered revelations of God. No one is ignorant of the dream of

Joseph, God's peace on him ! or of that of the monarch of Egypt.

I reflected within myself that probably a morning of good fortune would arise, from the day-spring of the mercy of God, and that the night of vexation and sorrow would come to an end. Having communicated my dream to some clever men, I was demanding from them the interpretation of it, when suddenly some one arrived, and brought intelligence that the King of Bijanagar, who possessed a large kingdom and an important sovereignty, had sent a herald with a letter addressed to the Samuri, desiring that the ambassador of His Majesty the Khakan-i Sa'id should be instantly sent to him. Although the Samuri is not under his authority, nevertheless, he is in great alarm and apprehension from him, for it is said, that the King of Bijanagar has 300 seaports, every one of which is equal to Kalikot, and that inland his cities and provinces extend over a journey of three months.

Kalikot, and certain other ports along the coast as far as Kali, which is opposite Sarandib, also called Silan, are situated in a province called Malibar. Ships which depart from Kalikot to the blessed Mecca (God preserve it in honour and power !) are generally laden with pepper. The men of Kalikot are bold navigators, and are known by the name of "sons of China."²⁰ The pirates of the sea do not molest the ships of Kalikot, and everything is procurable in that port, with this sole exception, that you cannot kill cows and eat their flesh. Should any one be known to have killed a cow, his life would infallibly be sacrificed. The cow is held in such respect, that they rub the ashes of its dung upon their forehead,—the curse of God upon them !

²⁰ Apparently a compliment to Chinese navigation. In former days many Chinese resorted to these parts, and established even their permanent residence in them. P. Baldæus speaks of "*the Chinese inhabiting Cochín, being very dextrous at catching fish.*"—Churchill's *Collection*, vol. iii., p. 571. When John Deza destroyed the Zamorin's fleet, it was commanded by Cutiale, a Chinese admiral—Marsden's *Marco Polo*, note 1372.

Visit to Bijanagar

THIS humble individual having taken his leave, departed from Kalikot, and passing by the seaport of Bandana, which is on the Malibar coast, arrived at the port of Mangalur, which is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar. Having remained there two or three days, he departed by dry land, and at the distance of three *parganas* from Mangalur, he saw a temple which has not its like upon the earth. It is a perfect square of about ten yards by ten, and five in height. The whole is made of molten brass. There are four platforms or ascents, and on the highest of them there is an idol, of the figure and stature of a man, made all of gold. Its eyes are composed of two red rubies, which are so admirably set that you would say that they gazed upon you. The whole is made with the greatest delicacy and the perfection of art.

Passing on from that place, I arrived each day at a town or village well populated, untill a mountain rose before me, the base of which cast a shadow on the sun, and whose sword (peak) sheathed itself in the neck of Mars : its waist was encircled with the bright stars of Orion, as with a ring, and its head was crowned with a blazing chaplet. Its foot was covered with such numbers of trees and thorny bushes that the rays of the world-enlightening sun were never able to penetrate its obscurity, and the genial clouds could never moisten its soil with their rain. On leaving this mountain and forest, I arrived at the city of Bidrur,²¹ of which the houses were like palaces and its beauties like houris. In Bidrur there is a temple so high that you can see it at a distance of several *parasangs*. It is impossible to describe it without fear of being charged with exaggeration. In brief, in the middle

²¹ M. Langles reads "Beglour," in which he is followed by Murray, *Hist. of Disc. in Asia*, vol. ii., p. 22. M. Quatremere, "Bilor" [which is the spelling of the MS. of the E. I. Library], No doubt Bednore is indicated, which is the capital of a province of the same name, and a place favourable for trade, as the pass leading through it from Mangalore is one of the best roads in the Western Ghats, which comprise the terrific mountain mentioned by our author.

of the city, there is an open space extending for about ten *jaribs*, charming as the garden of Iram. In it there are flowers of every kind, like leaves. In the middle of the garden there is a terrace (*kursi*), composed of stones, raised to the height of a man; so exquisitely cut are they, and joined together with so much nicety, that you would say it was one slab of stone, or a piece of the blue firmament which had fallen upon the stone. In the middle of this terrace there is a lofty building comprising a cupola of blue stone, on which are cut figures, arranged in three rows, tier above tier.

Such reliefs and pictures could not have been represented upon it by the sharp style and deceptive pencil.

From the top to the bottom there was not a space of the palm of a hand on that lofty building which was not adorned with paintings of Europe and Khata (China). The building was constructed on four terraces of the length of thirty yards, and of the breadth of twenty yards, and its height was about fifty yards.

All the other edifices, small and great, are carved and painted with exceeding delicacy. In that temple, night and day, after prayers unaccepted by God, they sing and play musical instruments, enjoy concerts, and give feasts. All the people of the village enjoy pensions and allowances from that building; for offerings are presented to it from distant cities. In the opinion of those irreligious men, it is the *ka'ba* of the infidels (*gabran*). After remaining here two or three days, I continued my journey, and at the close of the month Zi-hijja arrived at the city of Bijanagar. The king sent out a party to escort us, and we were brought to a pleasant and suitable abode.

*Account of the city of Bijanagar and its seven surrounding fortifications*²²

From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the

²² *Dar gard-i yakdigar and.*

writer 'Abdu-r-razzak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good sea-ports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.²³

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with

²³ Or Sinan.

strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara,²⁴ to the east of the bridge of Rangina²⁵ and Jakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the *Imam* Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that

²⁴ From the bridge of Jonau to the bridge in Karah. *az bal junu la bal dar qarah.*

²⁵ *Var.* Reginah.

without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar. [*Eulogy of the gems.*]

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sulun*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated. These people have two kinds of writing, one upon a leaf of the Hindi nut (cocoa-nut), which is two yards long, and two digits broad, on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters present no colour, and endure but for a little while.²⁶ In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface, and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.

²⁶ This mode of writing on the leaves of the *Borassus flabelliformis* and the cocoa-nut is still practised in Canara and Southern India. It is thus described by A. Hamilton on his visit to Calicut, ch. xxv. :—"They make use of no pens, ink, and paper; write on leaves of flags or reeds that grow in morasses by the sides, or rivers. They are generally about eighteen inches long and one and a half broad, tapering at both ends, and a small hole at one end for a string to pass through. It is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the point of a bodkin made for that purpose, holding the leaf athwart their left thumb and over the foremost finger, and what they have to write is indented, or rather engraven, into the leaf, but it does not pierce the leaf above half way through. And on two or three of these leaves they will write as much as we can on a sheet of small paper. All their records are written so on leaves, and they are strung and rolled up in a scroll, and hung some time in smoke and then locked up in their cabinets. And I have seen some such leaves smoke-dried, that they told me were above 1000 years old."—Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. viii., p. 410.

In the middle of the pillared hall, a eunuch, called a *Danaik*,²⁷ sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the *Danaik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *Danaik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him, and trumpets are sounded, and on both sides of his way panegyrist pronounces benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the *Danaik* arrives at each door an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the *Danaik* enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the State to the king, and, after remaining some time, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king.

On the left of the palace there is the mint, where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins, mixed with alloy. One is called *varaha*, and weighs about one *mishal*, equal to two *kopaki dinars*. The second kind is called *partab*, and is equal to half of the first. The third is called *fanam*, and is equal to the tenth of a *partab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a *sixth* of a *fanam*, which they call *tar*, which is also in great use. The third of a *tar* is a copper coin, called *jital*. The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, every one throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue (*zar*) which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the Exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The *sipahis* receive

²⁷ [This is the spelling of the MS. of the East India Library. The MS. from which the translation was made seems to have had "*Daiang*."]]

their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.

The Elephants, and mode of catching them

Opposite the minister's office are the elephant sheds. The king has many elephants in the country, but the large ones are specially reserved for the palace. Between the first and second *enceinte* of the city, and between the northern and western faces, the breeding of elephants takes place, and it is there the young ones are produced. The king has a white elephant, exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour.

Every morning this animal is brought into the presence of the monarch; for to cast eye upon him is thought a favourable omen. The palace elephants are fed on *kichu*, which, after being cooked, is turned out from the cauldron before the elephant, and after being sprinkled with salt and moist sugar, is made into a mass, and then balls of about two *mans* each are dipped in butter, and are then placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animals. If any of these ingredients is forgotten, the elephant is ready to kill his keeper, and the king also severely punishes his negligence. They are fed twice a day in this way. Each has a separate stall; the walls are very strong and high, and are covered with strong wood. The chains on the necks and backs of the elephants are firmly attached to the beams above; if the chains were bound any other way, the elephants would easily detach themselves. Chains are also bound upon the fore-legs.

The manner in which they catch elephants is this : they dig a pit in the way by which the animal usually goes to drink, which they cover over lightly. When an elephant falls into it, no man is allowed to go near the animal for two or three days ; at the end of that period, a man comes up and strikes him several hard blows with a bludgeon, when suddenly another man appears who drives off the striker, and seizing the bludgeon, throws it away. He then retires, after placing some forage before the elephant. This practice is repeated for several days ; the first lays on the blows, and the second drives him away, until the animal begins to have a liking for his protector, who by degrees approaches the animal, and places before it the fruits which elephants are partial to, and scratches and rubs the animal, until by this kind of treatment he becomes tame, and submits his neck to the chain.

They tell the following story of an elephant that fled from his bondage, and absconded to the deserts and the jungles. His keeper, in pursuit of him, dug pits in the paths which he was likely to frequent. The elephant, apprehensive of his artifices, seizing a club, and holding it like a staff in his trunk, kept feeling and sounding the earth with great caution as he advanced ; and so arrived at the drinking ford. The elephant-drivers despaired of taking him ; but as the king was very anxious to have him caught, one of the keepers mounted a tree under which the elephant was likely to go, and there lay hid, till, at the moment of his passing underneath, he threw himself down on the back of the animal, and seizing the strong cord which they strap over the back and chest of those animals, and which had not yet been detached, he held it fast within his grasp. In spite of all the turnings and motions which the elephant made to escape, and in spite of his lashing with his trunk, it was all of no avail. When he began rolling upon his side, the keeper leapt upon the flank which remained uppermost, and meanwhile struck the animal several sharp blows upon the

head, so that, being at last exhausted, the beast gave in, and submitted his body to the bonds, and his neck to the fetters. The keeper brought the elephant into the presence of the king, who bestowed a handsome reward upon him.

The kings of Hindustan go out hunting elephants, and remain a month or more in the jungles, and when they capture elephants, they rejoice at their success. Sometimes they order criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunk, and tusks. Merchants carry elephants from Silan to different countries, and sell them according to their height, so much more being demanded for each additional yard.

The Brothels

Opposite the mint is the office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 *fanams*, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles, are beyond all description. It is best to be brief on the matter.

One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses (*khanaha*) and fore-courts (*safhaha*), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (*kursi*), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones, and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each has one or two slave girls standing before her, who

invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams*, go to pay the wages of the policemen. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined. Thus, certain slaves which my companion had bought took to flight, and when the circumstance was reported to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter where the poorest people dwell to produce them or pay the penalty; which last they did, on ascertaining the amount. Such are the details relating to the city of Bijanagar and the condition of its sovereign.

The author of this history, who arrived at Bijanagar at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him, resembling that which one sees in Hirat on the high ground at the King's Gate. Here he reposed himself after the fatigues of the journey for several days, and passed under happy auspices the first day of the new moon of Muharram in that splendid city and beautiful abode.

Interview with the King of Bijanagar

One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays,²⁸ each containing nine pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zailun*²⁹ satin,

²⁸ On the *tukuz*, or presents, comprising nine pieces of any article, see a note by M. Quatremere in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, tom. xiv., pp. 32-35.

²⁹ [Olive-coloured ?]

and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down upon his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor,³⁰ made it over (to the interpreters), and said, "My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me." As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of Khatai which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khakan-i Sa'id, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor.

The monarch addressed us through his interpreter, and said, "Your kings feast ambassadors and place dishes before them, but as I and you cannot eat together,

"This purse of gold represents the repast of an ambassador."

³⁰ As the author's embassy was to Calicut, and not to Bijanagar, it does not appear how he became possessed of this letter, specially addressed to a place which was not the object of his destination. We shall see subsequently that his enemies, while they deny that he was accredited by the Khakan, nevertheless do not dispute that he was the bearer of a letter from that monarch.

The properties of the betel-leaf

This betel is a leaf which resembles that of an orange, but is longer. It is held in great esteem in Hindustan, in the many parts of Arabia, and the kingdom of Hormuz; and indeed it deserves its reputation. It is eaten in this way; they bruise a piece of areca nut, which they also call *supari*, and place it in the mouth; and moistening a leaf of betel or *pan* together with a grain of quick-lime, they rub one on the other; roll them up together, and place them in the mouth. Thus they place as many as four leaves together in their mouths, and chew them. Sometimes they mix camphor with it, and from time to time discharge their spittle, which becomes red from the use of the betel.

This masticatory lightens up the countenance and excites an intoxication like that caused by wine. It relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to describe, and delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues. The following verses display and confirm only some of its valuable properties.

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It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio; for it is said that it contains as many as 700 princesses and concubines. With respect to all these establishments no male child is permitted to remain in them after attaining the age of ten years. Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns separate. When any beautiful girl is found throughout the whole kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother has been purchased, she is brought in great state to the harem, after which no one can see her; but she is treated with great consideration.

An attempt upon the life of the King of Bijanagar

At the time that the writer of this history was detained at the city of Kalikot an extraordinary circumstance and singular transaction occurred in the city of Bijanagar. The details are these. The brother of the king had constructed a new house, and invited the king and the nobles of state to an entertainment. The custom of the infidels is, not to eat in the presence of one another. The guests were seated in a large hall, and, from time to time, the host, or some one that he sent, invited one of the nobles to come forward and partake of the viands prepared for him. He had taken care to collect together all the drums, tymbals, trumpets, and horns in the city, which were beaten and blown together with great force and dissonance. As each guest was summoned and conducted to the proper apartment, two assassins advanced from the place of their concealment behind the door, and, wounding him with a dagger, cut him to pieces. When his remains were carried off, another one was summoned and treated in like manner, and whoever entered that slaughter-house was never heard of more, for he became like a traveller on the road of eternity; and the tongue of fortune addressed the murdered man in these words—

“You will never return; having gone, you have gone for ever.”

From the noise of the drums and the clangour and the tumult, not a soul knew what had occurred, except a few who were in the secret: and in this manner every one who had a name and position in the State was murdered. While the assembly was yet reeking with the blood of its victims, the murderer went to the palace of the king, and, addressing the guards with flattering language, invited them also to the entertainment, and sent them to follow the others; and thus, having denuded the palace of the guards, he advanced to the king, bearing in his hand a tray of betel, in which there was a brilliant dagger concealed beneath the leaves, and thus addressed

the monarch : "The entertainment is prepared, and only waits your august presence." The monarch, according to the saying, *powerful princes are divinely inspired*, said that he was indisposed, and begged that his attendance might be excused.

When this unnatural brother despaired of the king's attendance, he drew forth the poignard, and wounded him several times severely, so that the monarch fell down behind the throne ; and the perfidious wretch, believing that he was dead, left one of his myrinidons behind to cut off the king's head. He himself rushed out to the portico of the palace, and exclaimed, "I have killed the king, his brothers, the nobles, the ministers, and the other chiefs, and I am now your king." But when the bravo advanced to fulfil his murderous orders, the king, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, dealt with it such a blow upon the breast of the villain, that he felled him to the ground, and, assisted by one of his guards, who in alarm had concealed himself in a corner, put him to death, and ran out of the chamber by the way of the female apartments. While his brother, seated at the head of the tribunal of justice, was inviting the people to recognize him as their sovereign, the king himself came forward and exclaimed, "Behold, I am alive and safe, seize the assassin." The multitude immediately bore him down, and slew him. The king then summoned to his presence his other brothers, and all the nobles ; but every one had been slain except the minister, the *Danaik*, who, previous to this dreadful tragedy, had gone to Silan. A courier was despatched to summon him, and inform him of what had transpired. All those who had been concerned in that plot, were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation³¹ was also put to death. When the

³¹ *Kasi ki dawut jughrat awardabad*. "The person who had brought the invitation of coagulated milk ;" apparently meaning that it was usual to send coagulated milk with an invitation.

Danaik had returned from his tour, and had become acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of *Mahanawi*.³²

The celebration of the Mahanawi

THE infidels of this country, who are endowed with power, are fond of displaying their pride, pomp, power, and glory. in holding every year a stately and magnificent festival, which they call *Mahanawi*. The manner of it is this : The King of Bijanagar directed that his nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants, tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour, and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha were seated ; and on the foreheads, trunks, and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments.

[Verses]

THE chiefs of the army and the powerful men of each province, and the wise Brahmans and the demon-like elephants, were assembled at the Court of the ruler of the world at the appointed time, which was at the full moon of Rajab (September, 1446), on a broad plain. This wonderful expanse of ground, from the numbers of people and the huge elephants, resembled the waves of the green sea, and the myriads which will appear on the Plains of the Resurrection.

³² [Quatremere read this *Mahanddi*, and so did the translator of this Extract ; but in the fine MS. of the East India Library the name is always distinctly written *Mahanawi*. Reinaud pointed out Quatremere's error, and showed that the festival must be that called *Maha-navami*, the ninth and last day of the *Durga-puja*. See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i., p. 163, note.]

[Verses]

On that beautiful plain were raised enchanting pavilions of from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures that the imagination can conceive, of men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste. Some of these pavilions were so constructed, that they revolved, and every moment offered a different face to the view. Every instant each stage, and each chamber presented a new and charming sight.

In the front of that plain, a pillared edifice was constructed of nine stories in height, ornamented with exceeding beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth story. The place assigned to me was the seventh story, from which every one was excluded except my own friends. Between this palace and the pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts. The singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces more blooming than the spring adorned with beautiful garments, and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight.

[Verses]

The Showmen and Jugglers

THE jugglers performed astonishing feats; they set up three beams joined one to the other; each was a yard long and half a yard broad, and about three or four high. Two other beams were placed on the top of the first two beams, which are of about the same length and breadth. They placed another beam a little smaller on the top of the second beams, which were already supported by the

lower beams, so that the first and second series formed two stages supporting the third beam, which was placed on the top of them all. A large elephant had been so trained by them, that it mounted the first and second stages, and finally to the top of the third, the width of which was less than the sole of the elephant's foot. When the elephant had secured all four feet on this beam, they removed the remaining beams from the rear.³³ Mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beat time with his trunk to every song or tune that the minstrels performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with the music.

They raised a pillar ten yards high, through a hole, at the top of the pillar they passed a beam of wood, like the beam of a balance; to one end of this they attached a stone about the weight of an elephant, and to the other they attached a broad plank about one yard in length, which they fastened with strong cords. The elephant mounted this plank, and his keeper by degrees let go the cord, so that the two ends of the beam stood evenly balanced at the height of ten yards; at one end the elephant, and at the other his weight in stone, equal as two halves of a circle. In this way it went (up and down) before the king. The elephant in that high position, where no one could reach him, listened to the strains of the musicians, and marked the tune with motions of his trunk.

All the readers and story-tellers, musicians and jugglers, were rewarded by the king with gold and garments. For three continuous days, from the time that the world-enlightening sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and features, this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs, and various other amusements which were exhibited.

³³ *bâqi chaubahara az qasa bardarand.*

Audience of the King of Bijanagar

ON the third day, when the king was about to leave the scene of the festival, I was carried before the throne of His Majesty. It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of *zaituni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn. During the three days the king sat on the throne upon this cushion, and when the celebration of the *Mahanawi* was over, he sent for this humble individual one evening at the time of prayer. On arriving at the palace, I saw four stages laid out about ten yards square. The whole roof and walls of the apartment were covered with plates of gold inlaid with jewels. Each of these plates was about the thickness of the back of a sword, and was firmly fixed with nails of gold. On the first stage, the king's royal seat was placed. This was formed of gold, and was of great size. The king sat upon it in state. He asked after His Majesty the Khakan-i Sa'id, his nobles, his armies, the number of his horses, and the peculiarities of the cities, such as Samarkand, Hirat, and Shiraz. He treated me with a kindness which exceeded all bounds, and observed, "I am about to send a certain number of elephants and the *tukuz* of eunuchs, besides other rarities, accompanied by a prudent ambassador, whom I shall despatch to your Sovereign.

In that assembly one of the courtiers asked me, by means of an interpreter, what I thought of the beauty of the four embroidered sofas, implying that such could not be made in our country. I replied, that perhaps they might be made equally well there, but that it is not the custom to manufacture such articles. The king approved highly of my reply, and ordered that I should receive several bags of *fanams* and betel, and some fruits reserved for this special use.

Malice of the Hormuzians

A set of people from Hormuz, who were residing in the country, when they heard of the kindness of the monarch, and of his intention of sending an ambassador to the Court of the asylum of Sultans, were extremely vexed, and did what they could to destroy this edifice of friendship. From their exceeding turpitude and malevolence they spread abroad the report that this poor individual was not really accredited by His Majesty, the Khakan-i Sa'id. This assertion reached the ears, not only of the nobles and ministers, but of the king himself, as will be hereafter mentioned. Please God !

Expedition to Kulbarga

ABOUT this time the *Danaik*, or minister, who had treated me with the greatest consideration, departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulbarga, of which the cause was, that the king of Kulbarga, Sultan 'Alau-d din Ahmad Shah, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rai, and the murder of the principal officers of State, was exceedingly rejoiced and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message : "Pay me 700,000 *varahas*, or I will send a world-subduing army into your country, and will extirpate idolatry from its lowest foundations." Deo Rai, the King of Bijanagar, was troubled and angered at this demand, and said, "Since I am alive, what occasion for alarm is there if some servants have been slain ?

'If a thousand of my servants die, what should I be afraid of ?' In one or two days I can collect a hundred thousand more such as they.

'When the sun is resplendent, innumerable atoms are visible.' If my enemies have conceived that weakness, loss, insecurity, and calamity have fallen upon me, they are mistaken. I am shielded by a powerful and auspicious star, and fortune is favourable to me. Now let all that my enemy can seize from out my dominions be considered as booty, and made over to his *saiyids* and professors ; as

for me, all that I can take from his kingdom I will make over to my falconers and brahmans." So on both sides armies were sent into the other's country, and committed great devastations.³⁴

*Hambah Nurir*³⁵—*Despatch of Embassy*

THE king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman *Danaik* a person named Hambah Nurir, who considered himself equal to the *wazir*. He was diminutive in stature, malignant, low-born, vile, savage, and reprobate. All the most odious qualities were united in him, and he had not a single estimable trait in his composition. When the seat of the administration was polluted by that wretch, he stopped my daily allowance without any cause. The Hormuzians having found an opportunity of showing their malice, displayed the devilry which forms the leaven of their disposition; and conformity of vice having ingratiated them with Hambah Nurir, they declared that I was not accredited by His Majesty the Khakan-i Sa'id, but that I was a mere merchant, who had carried in my hand the diploma of His Majesty. They spread several other lies in the hearing of the infidels, which produced such an impression upon them, that for some time, in the middle of this unholy country, I was reduced to a state of misery and uncertainty. But while labouring under this anxiety, I met the king several times on the road, who treated me with great condescension, and asked how I was going on. In very truth, he possessed excellent qualities.

The *Danaik*, after ravaging the territory of Kulbarga, and bringing some wretched people away with him as

³⁴ Firishta also mentions these expeditions under the year 817 H. —1413-4 A.D., but assigns a different cause for them. He says that three actions took place in the space of three months, and that the advantage rested generally with the Hindus.—Briggs, vol. ii., pp. 430-4.

³⁵ [The translator transcribes this name "Nima Pazir," but in the MS. of the East India Library the name is very carefully written and pointed "Hambah Nurir."]

captives, returned to Bijanagar. He reproached Hambah Nurir for having stopped my daily rations, and gave me an assignment for 7,000 *fanams* on the mint the very day of his arrival. Khwaja Mas'ud and Khwaja Muhammad of Khurasan, who were also residing in Bijanagar, were appointed to go upon the embassy, carrying with them presents and stuffs. Fath Khan, one of the descendants of Sultan Firoz Shah, who had been King of Delhi, also sent a deputy, named Khwaja Jamal-u-din, with presents and a petition.

On the day of my audience of leave, the monarch said to this poor individual, "They have represented that you are not really the envoy of His Majesty Mirza Shah Rukh; otherwise we would have paid you greater respect. If you should come again into this country, and I should ascertain that you are really sent on a mission by His Majesty, I will pay you such attention as becomes the dignity of my empire."

[Verse]

In the letter addressed to His Majesty, the monarch communicated the malicious aspersions which had been spread by the Hormuzians, and observed, "It was our intention to commend myself to His Sacred Majesty by royal presents and gifts, but certain parties represented that 'Abdu-r Razzak is not His Majesty's servant." * * *

The humble author, having completed his preparations, took his departure for the shore of the sea of 'Uman.

The return from Hindustan, and an account of a storm

The sun of Divine Benevolence arose from the horizon of prosperity, and the star of fortune ascended from the Orient of hope, and the brilliant lights of joy and content showed themselves in the midst of the dark night, conformably to the saying, "God is the friend of those who trust in Him. He will bring them forth from darkness into light." The nights of trouble and affliction in that

abode of idolatry and error vanished at the rising of the morning of good fortune and the appearance of the sun of prosperity; and the evening of sorrow and helplessness was changed into days of festivity and rejoicing.

"The duration of night that was longer than the day is now reversed.

"The latter has grown longer, the former has decreased."

Bijanagar is a city in the most remote territory of Hindustan, and the whole country is idolatrous; the resources which I had accumulated for my travels were consumed during the misfortunes to which I had been exposed. But why should I speak of that which is not worthy of mention? But in consequence of my wretched condition, I had no hope of getting provision for my journey—all I could do was to throw myself on the mercy of God.

With a stout heart and expanded hopes, I set out on my road; I confided myself to the kindness and mercy of God. On the 12th of Sha'ban, accompanied by the ambassadors, I took my flight on the wings of travel for the city of Bijanagar, and after being eighteen days on the road, we arrived, on the 1st of Ramazan (January, 1444), at the port of Mangahur,³⁶ and there I was honoured with being admitted to an interview with Amir Saiyid-'Alau-d din Mashhadi, who was 120 years old. For several years he had been venerated by the faithful, as well as the infidels, and in that country his sayings were regarded as oracles, for no one dared to refuse obedience to his precepts. One of the ambassadors of Bijanagar, Khwaja Mas'ud, unfortunately died while we were in this place.

"On this sinful earth, over which the vault of heaven extends,

Who knows in what place his head will rest beneath the tomb?"

³⁶ "Baknur" in MS. Mangalore ?

After having celebrated in the port of Mangahur the feast which follows the fast of Ramazan, I went to the port of Hanur, to arrange about fitting out a vessel, and I laid in provisions for twenty people for a voyage of forty days. One day, near the time when I was about to embark, I consulted the book of presages compiled by Imam Ja'far Sadik, which comprises verses taken from the Kuran, when I opened it at a passage of fortunate omen, containing this verse, "Be not afraid, you have been saved from the tribe of wicked men." I was exceedingly struck with a passage so appropriate to my situation, the anxiety which beset my heart from fear of the sea vanished altogether, and all at once trusting in a happy deliverance, I embarked on the 25th of the month Zi-l ka'da.

Sometimes we engaged in conversation on the extraordinary names and wonderful appearances which had come under our observation, and our hearts enjoyed peace and contentment. Sometimes, from the effect of contrary winds, which resembled drunkards, the cup of vicissitude found its way into the vessel, and its planks, which were so joined as to resemble a continuous line, were on the point of becoming separate like isolated letters of the alphabet.

* * * * *

The raging storm was changed into a favourable wind, the foaming tempest ceased, and the sea became as calm as my heart desired. The passengers, after having celebrated on the sea the festival of *azha*, at the end of Zi-hijja, sighted the mountain of Kalahat,³⁷ and rested in security from the dangers of the ocean. At that time, the new moon of the Muharram of the year 848 (of April, 1444), showed itself in the sea like the image of a friend's eyebrow. * * *

³⁷ This ridge extends from Jibal Jallan to Jibal Fallah, and attains a height of 4,440 feet. The Jibal Fallah are about forty miles inland from Maskat, and rise to 6,000 feet.

*Concluding events of the voyage, and the arrival
at Hormuz by God's favour :*

The narrative of my voyage has reached that point, when the new moon of the blessed Muharram showed its beautiful image in the sea. The ship remained out at sea for several days more, but on arriving at Maskat we cast anchor; where, after the damages sustained at sea by the storm were repaired, we re-embarked, and continued our route.

The vessel, after leaving Maskat, arrived at the port of Khurfakan,³⁸ where she remained for two days, during which the night was so hot, that when it was dawn, you might have said that the sky had set the earth on fire; for the strong-winged bird at the summit of the air, and the fish at the bottom of the sea, were equally consumed by the heat. * * * *

After re-embarking, we left the port of Khurfakan, and arrived at the city of Hormuz on the forenoon of Friday, the 12th of the month of Safar. From the port of Hanur to that of Hormuz, our voyage lasted seventy-five days.

³⁸ See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i., page 163. note.

APPENDIX

ODES OF 'UNSURI

(ABU-L. Kasim bin Ahmad 'Unsuri, of Balkh, rose to a high position by the exercise of his poetical talents. He was one of the poets entertained at the Court of Mahmud of Ghazni. They are said to have been 400 in number. He was reckoned their chief, and it was his duty to read and report upon the productions of the poets who sought for the patronage of the Sovereign. He wrote a series of Odes describing the victories of the Ghaznivides, of which the following is an Extract, translated by Sir H. M. Elliot. He died in 431 or 441 H. (1039 or 1049 A.D.).

Ode in praise of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznivi—Jaipal.—Multan.—Thanesar.—The display of booty from India

OH ! thou who hast heard of the virtues of kings from history, come hither and clearly discern the virtue of the Khusru of Iran. * * * If thou regardest his face, thou wilt find it more auspicious than that of the sun. If thou regardest his wealth, thou wilt find it more abundant than the sand of the desert or the drops of a shower. The son resembles the father ; for when the matter is so excellent that which proceeds from it must be equally so. In whatever business he undertakes, he acts like a hero ; he is swift to hunt lions ; the line of his army is as indissoluble as a ring ; when he rides he is as much a part of his horse as sugar dissolved in milk forms one liquid. The eye of day is blinded by the dust raised by his steed ; from its neighing the ear of heaven is deafened. His family around him are like the army of Yajui ; his troops are as firm as the wall of Sikandar. With his body erect, his heart filled with revenge, his sword drawn, he resembles an enraged male lion pursuing its prey. The attack of the King of the World has exterminated

his enemies root and branch, as the blast when it destroyed the tribe of 'Ad. The foundations of his fort are as strong as iron, and its bastions are as lofty as heaven. When men walk along its ramparts, you would say they were taking their way along the galaxy.

Thou hast heard the account of Jaipal, the King of the Hindus, who was exalted above the other chiefs of the world. His army was more numerous than the stars of heaven; the stones on the face of the earth did not equal it, or the drops of rain. His soldiers had so imbued their hands in blood, that their swords were as red as the morning dawn. Hadst thou seen his spears gleaming, like tongues of flame through black smoke, thou wouldst have said his host was dispersed in the wilderness of hell. Sense fled from the brain at fear of him; and the light of the eye was confounded. The Lord of Khurasan dispersed in his attack the whole of that army on the plain of Peshawar. Thou knowest the history of his expedition to Multan, or if thou knowest not, consult the "Crown of Victories."¹ In the *Shah-nama* will be read the story of Faridun crossing the Tigris without a boat. The tale may be true, or it may not be true; if thou knowest it to be not true, put no faith in the narrative. But [Mahmud] crossed the Chandaha, the Sihun, the Rahwali, and Behat,² yet he had neither boat nor anchor, notwithstanding that thought could not fathom their depth, and the breeze was unable to pass over their breadth. On his road to Multan he took two hundred forts, each of which was a hundred times stronger than Khaibar.³ As the King passed from the right to the left, he dispersed all his foes, and in his contempt regarded them as vile. Their armour was shattered, their bodies wounded, their hopes depressed, their swords broken, their hearts confounded, their shields cast away. Vestiges of the blood of his enemies, which the Shah

¹ The famous work by Abu-l Fazl Baihaki.

² The Chinab, the Indus, the Ravi, and the Jelam.

³ A famous fortress in Arabia.

spilt, still remain in that country, for its air is full of clouds and its soil bright red. He marred the beautiful gardens of Gang and Thanesar, because they were places of pilgrimage to the Hindus. He threw down the idol's head at the entrance of the plain of Ghaznin, because it was, as it were, the helmet of Hind. * * * The enemy's blood will flow for years over the wide plains of that country. The mother who has witnessed the battles of that region will bring forth no more children through affright; for the feet of the camels and the swords of the warriors are yet red with the blood of the inhabitants.

No one, except God the giver, can rightly enumerate the booty which the Prince of 'Ajam brought back with him. In one direct line, as far as Balkh, it was displayed; and the road became like one *sarni*, fitted up with the puppets of Barbar. Villages and towns became distracted at the colours and odours arising from the strings of rubies and the balls of ambergris. Baghdad could not produce such rarities, nor Shustar [Susa] such beauties. The sand of the deserts is not greater than were the heaps of jewels piled up before the King of the World. If this surpasses belief, read the "Crown of Victories," the text of which is a necklace, and its commentaries like pearls. The Shah of Khurasan has conquered all his opponents by the help of God, in a manner which no one amongst men has done before him. Though the moon shines in a dark night and is very brilliant, yet it pales before the light of day. Though every Shah may say, "I am alooe-wood, because I also am of the same nature," yet that only can be known when tested in the fire and censer. * * * Who upon this earth resembles the King in excellence? What thorn resembles the pine and cypress? Princedom, nobility, wealth, and religion are excellent through his possession of them, as trees are valuable through the fruits they produce. As long as in every time men throughout the world are affected by pleasure and sorrow, by the decrees and preknowledge of God, may the life of the King of the World endure, and

his wealth be abundant, his heart at ease, and his land upon the wine and cup !

Ode in celebration of Sultan Mahmud

HAIL ! Lord of Khurasan and son of perfection, on whom Almighty God has bestowed dignity and pomp. Thou art the right hand of the State, from whom the State has acquired honour, the asylum of the faith, from whom the faith has derived splendour. God has abolished mortality from the creation, in order to secure the eternity of his government. The tree of his liberality has risen to heaven, every leaf of which is dignity, and every fruit is wealth. From the utmost bounds of the sea and land he has united in his donations all the munificent largesses which have ever been scattered over the earth. If you look at his face, your heart will be gladdened ; if you hear his name, you may consider it a happy omen. * * * In Turkistan there are no houses which he has not saddened ; in Hind there are no cities which he has not levelled with the ground. Wherever there is wisdom, wherever there is excellence, every one takes an example in both from thee. Wisdom has no value till it derives approval from thee ; excellence makes no impression till it draws its model from thee. * * * From fear of thee the heart of the infidel becomes black ; the heart of the pious is illumined by the light of thy religion. Before thy benefactions are made, a request is issued that they might meet with acceptance. If I were not to wish for a long life, in order to serve thee, all that I possess in the world which is lawful would change its nature.

DIWAN-I SALMAN

KHWAJA Mas'ud bin Sa'd bin Salman wrote poems in praise of the Ghaznvide sovereigns Mas'ud, Ibrahim, and Bahram Shah. A few facts respecting his life are to be gathered from his works. He suffered a long imprisonment, for he speaks of the nineteenth year of his incarceration. His writings throw some light upon the

Ghaznvide period. He died in 525 H. (1131 A.D.) according to some, and in 520 H. (1126 A.D.) according to others. The following translations are the work of Sir H. M. Elliot.

EXTRACTS

The conquest of Tabarhinda, Buria, and Ghor

* * * * *

As power and the strength of a lion was bestowed upon Ibrahim by the Almighty, he made over to him the well-populated country of Hindustan, and gave him 40,000 valiant horsemen to take the country, in which there were more than 1000 *rais*. Its length extends from Lahore to the Euphrates, and its breadth from Kashmir to the borders of Sistan. * * * What enemy has held any fort in Hindustan who has not by the power of the Sultan been placed in chains? The *rajas* and *rais* with their armies had raised that fort to the heaven of Saturn; but when the army of the Shah turned his face towards it, all their joy was turned to sorrow, all their advantage to loss. * * * The good fortune of the King compelled the enemy to come out of the fort in a supplicating posture to plead for mercy. Tabarhinda is stronger than Nusradna,¹ and no place is so strong as these two in the world. Imagination cannot conceive anything so strong, and its defenders were innumerable. No breach of Islam had blown in that region, nor any fragrance of the truth visited the land. * * * Almighty God gave him victory over the people, which had not been attained by any former kings. The army of the King destroyed at one time a thousand temples of idols, which had each been built for more than a thousand years. How can I describe the victories of the King? I am not able to sound all his praises. I will mention only a few, as I cannot recount them all.

¹ Another copy reads Nausitara. Tabarhinda may be read Barhanda or Sirhinda, [and is, as we have seen in former parts of this work, an old name or Sirhind.].

One is the conquest of Buria. I will record it in verse, but it would require a thousand *diwans* to do it justice. 'Udu² became greatly alarmed when he saw the soldiers of the King of the East. The sun and moon became dark from the dust raised by the horses. The fish and cow³ felt the burden of his army heavy. He leaped into the water like a fish when he learnt that the King's sword was death, and there was no escape from it. The King had collected some wooden boats for the fight, which floated on the flowing stream like crocodiles. He placed on each two hundred horsemen. * * * 'Udu was drowned in the river with his army like Pharaoh, and the King became victorious like Moses. 'Udu was defeated, and his magic was of no avail against the dragon-like sword of the King of the World.

One hundred thousand tongues could not describe the conquest of Ghor, and the condition of Muhammad 'Abbas. The fort was strong and lofty, and as free from the chance of removal as the mountain of Sihlan (Ceylon).

The capture of Dhangan and Jalandhar

THE narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyar. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangan to Jalandhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying, and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents

² One copy has 'Umar in one place, as the name of the ruler of Buria, which still exists on the banks of the Jumna; but though 'Udu means also an enemy generally, yet it resembles a Hindu name, and occurs too frequently to be merely a repetition of "the enemy."

³ In allusion to certain absurd Muhammadan notions given in the *Ma'alimu-t Tanzil*, and other commentaries and works on Cosmogony.

upon the hills, in a line like the wall of Alexander.⁴
 * * * Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wert but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault, and by that alone brought destruction upon the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one *Brahman*, remained unkilld or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. * * * A fleet messenger came from Dhangán, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot-soldiers like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sair Sambra arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bu Nasr Parsi, which announced thy victory to all quarters. * * * He fled unto the river Rawa at dread of thy approach, and there he was drowned, and descended into the infernal regions; and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Rawa had done thee service, and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jalandhar. I am the meanest of slaves, and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplishment of this business. The *rais* and soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rajas* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Rawa.
 * * * Thou hast secured victory to thy country and to

⁴ The same two similes occur in a line of 'Unsuri in an ode in praise of Sultan Mahmud.

religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection.⁵

* * * * *

The author laments the condition of his family

FOR sixty years this slave's father, Sa'd bin Salman, served the State, sometimes in distant provinces and at others at the capital. I have a young daughter and a son and two sisters in the land of Hindustan. My daughter has become blind through her tears, and my son has no employment. There are forty-three members of my family who are dependent on thy mercy, and pray for thy prosperity and welfare. Oh, thou, who deliverest thy people from evil, relieve me also from my misfortunes. From the strictness and darkness of my imprisonment, my heart is oppressed and my disposition is blackened. Though my fault is exceedingly great, yet a hundred faults would not be beyond the efficiency of thy mercy.

* * * * *

The author complains of his imprisonment

ARROWS and swords pierce my heart, and my niece, my daughter, and son are in pain and sickness. Day and night my heart yearns towards them. My mother and father also are afflicted. No news reaches me from them, and none reaches them from me. I am imprisoned in the lofty fort of Nai, on the top of a hill. * * * Though heaven is against me, yet the King Ibrahim, whose praises I sing, is just, and I feel no grief.

Prince Mahmud appointed Governor of Hind

AT the siver dawn of morn a zephyr reached me from

⁵ There is a wildness and want of connection in this ode which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as noticing the capture of Dhangar and Jalandhar. The latter place is well known, but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been far within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibrahim.

the palace, whispering that Abu-l Muzaffar Sultan Ibrahim had bestowed honour upon Mahmud Shah, by appointing him to the government of Hind. The *khutba* was read throughout all Hind in his blessed name, and the diadem was placed upon his head. * * * A horse was bestowed upon him as a *khil'at*. May it be attended with prosperity for him, and may he be established firmly on the throne of the country! All the astrologers declared, after making their calculations, that it would not be long before the preachers should read from their pulpits the name of Saifu-d dawwal (Mahmud), King of the Seven Climates. Bu Riham, five years previous to this, declared in the book called *Tafhim*, that a king, lord of the conjunctions, would exist upon the earth, when four hundred and sixty-nine* years had passed from the beginning of the Hijra. A thousand thanks every moment to God, that he has given us a puissant and merciful king!

* * * * *

The capture of Agra

OH, Zephyr, proclaim the great victory to all the world.
* * * Thou wert thyself present and saw all, why need I tell thee what occurred? Say how the Lord of the World, the Sword of the State and Religion, the sovereign of the great and small, in order to secure victory to Islam, brought a valiant army from the capital to the land of Hind, which he reduced to forty thousand horsemen, in order that it might not be too large and unwieldly. * * * He disregarded all other forts, and passed rapidly over the ground, sometimes encamping in forests, sometimes on broken ground. When his lofty standards passed the river, the mirror-like vault of heaven

* Literally a *ta*, a *sin*, and three *jims*, according to the numerical value of those letters; but the chronology seems questionable, and the existence of Bu Riham five years previous makes the matter still more doubtful, unless by the same computation we consider the *panja* to be fifty-five instead of five.

was obscured by clouds of dust. The fort of Agra is built amongst the sand, like a hill, and the battlements of it are like hillocks. No calamity had ever befallen its fortifications, nor had deceitful Time dealt treacherously with it. When it was surrounded by the army, it looked like a point in the centre of a circle. The battle waxed warm with arrows and swords. The following night the chiefs of Jaipal had a dream. * * * When the moon arose, the Amir of Agra, Jaipal,⁷ descended from the top of the rampart to the gate of the fort. He looked towards the tent of Saifu-d daula, and made his reverence, and seizing from his waist his holy thread, held it up with both his hands. He sent a message to the King, saying, "Oh, great sovereign, I have committed a fault, and I am ready to acknowledge it. I proclaim my allegiance. Thou art my lord. I will relinquish my sins; do thou pardon my transgressions. If thou wilt grant me forgiveness, I will fill up a heap of treasure in this fortress." The King of Kings, the Sword of State and Religion, replied, "I have come to this country to prosecute a religious war. I have seen countless forts, but this holy army has taken every one of them a hundred times over. I was in search of such a large virgin fortress as this, which no king or chief has yet taken. Now that my heart has found this fort of Agra, I will bring destruction upon it with my swords and arrows. Other kings have thought only of silver and gold. I look for nothing but pardon from the Giver of all things." He then ordered his soldiers to the attack, saying he would take the stronghold by the help of God. His soldiers surrounded the fort of Agra, and made the day appear like night. Without, were the army of Islam; within, were the infidels. The stones discharged from the mangonels ascended to the vault of heaven, like the prayers of saints. I saw the foot-soldiers with helmet, coat of mail, and sword, creeping up like snakes to defend their walls, which could not be destroyed by stones, arrows or fire, insomuch that

⁷ Another copy reads Bathal.

you would have said they had been riveted together by iron nails. A thousand assaults were made, but their hearts did not quake; a thousand wounds were inflicted, but their bodies were not maimed. The fires which they threw down from the battlements blazed like planets in the heavens. Every horseman who rode surrounded by the flames of fire escaped from the effects of it, like Ibrahim, the son of Azur; and the red element blazed round him like a garden. * * * Several days elapsed, and there was no respite from fighting by the light of day or the darkness of night. * * * The clarions of Mahmud resounded like thunder from the clouds. From behind the walls arose the cry of "Strike, strike."^a The troops of the King made an assault together, and dragon-like swords defended the ramparts. The saulchions of the holy warriors made the ground of Agra flow like a river with the blood of the enemy. * * * I saw the King plunging into the middle of the fight like a male lion, with a man-devouring scimeter in his hand. * * * At last, from the holy warriors within the fort arose the shout of "Victory to our Sovereign Lord Mahmud." * * * Now do the kings from all quarters send their presents unto thee—loads of red gold, and files of male elephants. As so many elephants are collected, make their stables at Kanauj, and appoint Chand Rai to take charge of them. May this victory be propitious to thee, and mayst thou capture by the sword a thousand such forts as these. Thou shalt be lord throughout the seven climates, as this conquest over the infidels testifies.

* * * * *

The conquest of Malwa,—The author describes his former circumstances

Thou didst depart with a thousand joyful anticipations on a holy expedition, and didst return having achieved a thousand victories. Thou didst encamp at pleasant

^a *Mara mar.* This is the first use of a Hindustani phrase in a Persian author.

spots in each province in the hottest season of the year. On this journey thy army destroyed a thousand idol-temples, and thy elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march thy army to Ujjain; Malwa trembled and fled from thee. Thy encampments were gardens, thy roads were groves. On the way to Kalinjar thy pomp obscured the light of day. The lip of infidelity became dry through fear of thee, the eye of plural-worship became blind. All the people felt alarm at thy army, and regarded it as the approach of the day of judgment. * * * All the mothers of Turkistan produce children to adorn thy Court. All the mines of Hindustan increase their production of iron to make weapons for thy wars. The wilds bring forth the various kinds of horses for thy stables. The Rumis send cuirasses; the Russians send helmets; Rum, Baghdad, Wasit, and Shustar forward the choice robes of their manufacture. At all times every one presents as many valuable things as his means admit. Who is able to show a living? but thou art able, thou destroying champion. Glory to my sovereign lord, and may he long live, who has a son resembling him in greatness and power. * * * May thy Government, thy actions, thy splendour, and the kingly power bestowed on thee by thy father be propitious, and prove a blessing unto thee.⁹ * * * On the top of hills my youth is wasted without any repining. My verses are recommended in every assembly; fresh mention of my name is made in every chamber. The justice and munificence of the Sultan towards me are great. He has given me bread which is sufficient, and bestows happiness upon me without alloy. My affections draw me towards my native country, my love of my daughter and my son. When I was in Hindustan, I resided upon the estate of my old father. The slave Bu Nasr appointed me to a command, like other *naibs*. But I was not a *naib*, inasmuch as I had

⁹ This allusion to father and son shows that this ode is addressed to Prince Mahmud, the son of Ibrahim.

not the means and appliances which were thought sufficient for them. I had a few servants very black, and a few horses very thin. All these appurtenances are necessary in a Government to enable the administration to be conducted with honour. The partridge and hawk do not fly together; the lion and antelope do not associate. How dare the turbulent advance their foot in opposition to thy power?

* * * * *

Prince Mahmud congratulated on his return to Ghazni

THANKS to the incomprehensible God, that the Amir and Shah of Hindustan, the Sword of State and Religion, the honour of our faith, Prince Mahmud, the just lord of the world. * * * When thou camest over the deserts in the month of Nisan for the purpose of this interview, thou didst cross the Chandraha, the Jailam, the Waihind, and Mahminara,¹⁰ as the Moses did the Nile of Egypt.

* * * * *

Conquest of Kanauj by Mas'ud III.—The author bewails his captivity and excuses himself

'ALA-U daula Mas'ud, by the aid of Islam, raised a thousand standards, round each of which was arrayed a gallant army. He turned his face towards Hindustan, to prosecute a holy war. * * * With a valiant army of Turks and others, and by the aid of the King, they took Mulhi, the accursed God-forsaken Chief of Hind. They placed chains on his feet and a collar on his neck. They carried him to the royal presence. Kanauj was the capital of Hind, which the infidels regarded as their polestar. Its story is not concealed, for it was the Ka'ba of the Samanis, and the Kibla of the infidels. The treasures of Hind were collected in it, just as all rivers flow into the sea.¹¹ Mulhi had soldiers, wealth, elephants, and

¹⁰ The Indus flows under those two towns. This portion of the stream is now called Attak as far as Kalabagh.

¹¹ His hydrography is better than Bishop Hall's, who makes rivers flow from the sea.

arms : conceive therefore what else he had. He had taken possession of Hind by force, for he was the Ka'ba of the wicked, and the Kibla of the infidels. His face was black, his deeds demoniacal, his religion was witchcraft, his disposition that of a tiger begotten of the devil, of the family of hell, a worshiper of idols. * * * He bounded up in alarm, and had such fear for his life that he looked on his sacred thread as the folds of a snake. * * * From the raining of thy swords, the garden of Hind bloomed ; the bones were white as jessamine,¹² and the blood red as a rose. * * * Oh, powerful Lord, it is now nearly ten years that my life has been wasting with sorrow and anguish. My body has become as thin as a hair, my heart is burning and my chest is torn with my long blue nails. * * * Why should I turn my face away from thy exalted dynasty, for I have been a slave of it for seven generations. Sa'd Salman did service for fifty years, and obtained these large estates with difficulty and made them over to me ; but my enemies have taken them away from me, and my house is destroyed. I came with a petition that justice might be done, but have met no satisfaction. I know no fault or crime of my own, but my deceitful enemy planned my destruction. No one has ever seen me throw away my arms, there was during the battle a sword in my hand, nor have I shown my back in flight, and in the disaster an arrow penetrated my eye. Let all the infidels be asked if I did not serve the Shah like other slaves. I sing thy praises like a nightingale ; why then am I cooped up like a hawk in a hill fortress ?

MIR 'ALI SHER

Mir 'Ali Sher, or 'Ali Sher Amir, the enlightened minister of Sultan Husain of Persia, was born about A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440).

¹² There is a play upon words in this couplet, "Samanistan" meaning a jessamine garden, as well as a country of Samanis, and in another passage the same simile occurs with reference to a battle-field.

Mir 'Ali Sher was of an illustrious family of the Chaghatai tribe. His father, Bahadur, who was a man of deep learning and science, and whose chief pride it was to give a finished education to his children, held one of the principal offices of government during the reign of Sultan Abu-l Kasim Babar, son of Timur, and 'Ali Sher was himself employed at Court, having ingratiated himself with this prince so much, as to obtain from him the title of son. He gained this favour by means of his literary accomplishments, and especially by the display of his talent as a composer of Turkish and Persian verses. When this prince died, Mir 'Ali Sher retired to Meshhed, and subsequently to Samarkhand, where he devoted himself to study. Some time afterwards, Sultan Husain Bahadur Khan, having made himself master of Khurasan, invited Mir 'Ali Sher, with whom he had been educated, and for whom he entertained a great affection, for the purpose of entrusting to him the administration of the Government.

After being employed in the capacity of *diwan* and minister for some time, love of study induced him to resign, but Husain prevailed upon him to accept the government of Astarabad, which also proving too busy an occupation for one of his literary tastes, he resigned it after a short period, and bidding a final adieu to public life, passed the remainder of his days in composing Turkish and Persian works, of which Sam Mirza recounts the names of no less than twenty-one. Though himself an ambitious author, he was far from being jealous of the accomplishments of others, and proved himself one of the most eminent patrons of literature. Daulat Shah the biographer, Mirkhond and Khondamir the historians, dedicated their works to him; and amongst other men of genius who were cherished by his liberality may be mentioned the celebrated poet Jami. He patronized also sculpture and architecture, and several edifices dedicated to religion and humanity were raised at his sole expense. He was also very partial to music, and himself composed

several pieces of merit, which are said still to maintain their credit.

His collection of Odes in the Chaghatai, or pure Turkish dialect, which he wrote under the poetical title of *Nuai*, amounts to ten thousand couplets; and his parody of Nizami's five poems, containing nearly thirty thousand couplets, is universally admired by the cultivators of Turkish poetry, in which he is considered to be without a rival.

In the Persian language also he wrote a collection of Odes under the poetical title of *Fanai*, from which Haji Lutf 'Ali, in his *Atishkadah*, has selected the following as a beautiful specimen :

"O you who say, 'Don't curse Yazid, for possibly the Almighty may have had mercy on him.' I say, if the Lord pardoneth all the evil which Yazid did to the Prophet's descendants, He will also pardon you, who may have cursed him."

'Ali Sher died A.H. 906 (A.D. 1500), five years before his royal friend and master Sultan Husain Mirza, and Khondamir has recorded the date in an affectionate chronogram :

"His highness, the Amir, the asylum of divine guidance, in whom all the marks of mercy were conspicuous, has quitted the thorny brake of the world, and fled to the rose-garden of pity. Since the 'light of mercy' has descended on his soul, those words represent the day of his departure."¹

¹ Compare S. de Sacy, *Mem. sur div. antiq. de la Perse*. M. Quatremere, *Journ. des Savants*, 1843, p. 387. *Gesch. d. sch. Red. Pers.*, p. 310. *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, tom. iv. 246, 290, ix. 121. *Biographical Dict. L. U. K.*, s. v. *Journ. Asiatique*, Jan. 1842, p. 70. Sir G. Ouseley, *Notices of Persian Poets*, pp. 50-53. Price's *Retrospect of Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 656. *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 184. Erskine's *Life of Baber*, vol. i., p. 81. *Zeitschrift Deutsch. M. Gesell.*, vol. ii., 242, 256. David's *Turkish Grammar*, p. xxxviii. *Biog. Univ.* vol. i., p. 655. Sprenger's *Bibliog.*, p. 9. *Tabakat-i Shah-Jahani*, fol. 153. *Makhzanu-l Gharab*.

NOTES ON THE *MATLA'U-S SA'DAIN*

THE Editor is indebted to Col. H. Yule for some notes on the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*; which did not reach him in time for insertion in their proper place.

Page 93. "The ninety cities of the islands of Diwah-Mahall." For Elliot's reading *Shahar-i-nud* Col. Yule considers the words of Quatremere's MS. to be preferable, viz., *Shahr-i nau*, or "New city," a name by which Siam was known to the Malays and the mariners of the Persian Gulf in the middle ages.

P. 93. "Zirbad." "This is a phrase translated from the Malay, meaning 'below the wind,' or 'leeward,' and is applied by the Malays to the countries east of the Straits of Malacca. The expression occurs in the '*Ain-i Akbari*, Blochman's translation, p. 91, but the true meaning is not there given to it." It is also used in the well-known *Bagh-o Bahar*, and there it seems to apply to Burmah and other countries between India and the Straits.

P. 101. "Bandana." "In spite of Bandana handkerchiefs, there is no such part as this in Malabar. I have no doubt the real word is 'Fandaraina' or 'Fandarana.' See note in Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv., p. 345. Quatremere's reading was "Bendianeh." The MS. of the East India Library agrees with Sir H. Elliot's reading as Bandana.

P. 110. "Zaitun." "This is the name of the Chinese city whose satin was brough, *hodie* Thsiuancheu or Chincheu, and my belief is that our word satin came from Zaitun."

P. 122. "Baknur." "This reading of one of the MSS. is the correct one. It is the port in Northern Malabar, called Baccanore by our old voyagers."—See *Cathay, and the Way thither*.

NOTES ON THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIMUR

See Vol. II—*Autobiography of Timur and Zafar Nama of Sharafuddin*, in this series.

[In a very kind and appreciative review of the 3rd Vol. (Original edition) of this work,¹ Dr. Sachau, of Vienna, has re-opened the question as to the authenticity of the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*. The old arguments for and against were noticed in the account given of the book in Vol. III (original edition); but as it is a matter of some literary interest, Dr. Sachau's objections are here quoted in full.

"The last two works in the series of chronicles described in this volume refer to Timur. The first of them, *Malfuzat-i Timuri*, pretends to be an autobiography of Timur. The reader will be astonished to learn how that monster—who knew so well how to sack and burn cities, to slaughter hundreds of thousands of his fellow-creatures, to lay waste almost one-half of the then civilized world in a marvellously short time—in his leisure hours received inspirations from Clio; that he, in short, was a Tatar Cæsar. Even admitting that he knew how to write, we cannot believe in his authorship of the book in question, and that for the following reasons.

"A certain 'Abu Talib Husaini presented to the Emperor Shahjahan a Persian translation of an autobiography of Timur, from his 7th to his 74th year, written originally in Chagatai. The original, he stated, had been found in the library of a Pasha of Yaman. This story sounds strongly apocryphal. First of all, it is not very likely in itself that Timur should have written his own history. But Babar had done so, likewise Jahangir. Why should not also the father of the family, Timur himself, have had this 'family predilection'? Certainly

¹ Academy, No. 34, 15th October, 1871.

it was a very good business to produce such a work at the court of Shahjahan. It is not necessary to suppose that this prince himself believed in the authenticity of the book, but probably he deemed it in his interest to adopt the story as it was produced, and to make people believe in it.

“Professor Dowson shows from the preface of the *Zafarnama*, composed by Sharaf-al-din Yazdi, A.H. 828, only thirty years after Timur's death, that certain officers in the suite of Timur were always employed to write down everything that happened to him, in fact to compose court-chronicles both in Turki and Persian. There is no reason to doubt this statement of Yazdi; it is from these materials that he composed his eulogy, not to say history, of Timur. But were these materials ever gathered and formed into one coherent composition, into a book? This we can hardly believe to have been the case if we remember the statement of Yazdi, that his patron Ibrahim, Timur's grandson, tried to procure for him 'from all parts of his dominions copies of the *works* relating to the life of Timur'. But admitting that such a book existed, how then, did it happen that it remained unnoticed for centuries under the reigns of all Timur's descendants as far as Shahjahan? If, after the death of Timur, another dynasty had come into power, it would be only natural that they should have tried to destroy every memorial of their predecessors. But that was not the case; members of his family were sitting on the thrones of Persia, Transoxiana, and India. Further, are those court-chronicles identical with the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, as Professor Dowson seems to believe? The editor states quite correctly with regard to Yazdi's *Zafar-nama* and the *Malfuzat*, that one is a mere reproduction of the other. And from this fact we conclude that the *Malfuzat* are forged upon the basis of Yazdi's work. In the first instance, the *Malfuzat* are composed in the strict form of an autobiography ('I said,' 'I ordered,' etc.), and we can scarcely assume that this was the form

of the above-mentioned court-chronicles. Secondly, if Timur had been an author himself, Yazdi would certainly have mentioned it, and would, page after page, have enlarged on his stylistic attainments. But such is not the case."

Dr. Sachau, in the first place, deems it to be incredible that a monster like Timur ever wrote his memoirs, even if he were able to write at all. It has never been contended that they were actually written by Timur with his own hand, but that the book was produced under his personal direction and superintendence, and that he intended it to pass as his autobiography. That Timur was "a monster" is certain, but why this should disqualify him from writing a history of his life is not manifest. Other monsters have taken a pride in the record of their iniquities and atrocities, but then their opinions of themselves and of their deeds differed widely from the verdict passed upon them by mankind.

That the story of the discovery of the book "sounds strongly apocryphal," has been admitted from the first. It gives ground for very great suspicion, but it would not be conclusive, even if the book were entirely destitute of evidence as to its authenticity.

It would certainly have been "a very good buisness to produce such a work at the court of Shah Jahan," if the work had been written in the prevailing style. But the book in question tells a plain straightforward tale, devoid of all that varnish and tinsel which a forger, in accordance with the prevailing taste, would have lavished upon his work to make it acceptable. The reception it met with shows what was thought of it: Another writer was commissioned to assimilate it to the *Zafar-nama*.

"The *Malfuzat* are composed in the strict form of an autobiography ('I said,' 'I ordered,' etc.), and we can scarcely assume that this was the form of the above-mentioned court-chronicles;" but why not? and in what form should an autobiography be written? The Memoirs

of Babar, Timur's descendant, are written in the very form objected to, as the pages of the present volume show. It may even be that these very memoirs were the incentive and the model of Babar's. Both are written in a similar style; plain, out-spoken, and free from reticence or apology. Babar's character is plainly impressed upon his memoirs. Is not Timur's equally manifest in the *Malfuzat*?

"Lastly, Dr. Sachau thinks that if Timur had been an author, Yazdi would certainly have mentioned it, and would, page after page, have enlarged on his stylistic attainments." Perhaps so. But, "if Timur had been an author," Yazdi employed himself in reproducing his work in an improved style. He could not very well have lavished praises on the style of a work which he so laboriously endeavoured to supersede. On the other hand, it would have been somewhat dangerous, at the court of Timur's grandson, to boast of having improved the writings of such a redoubtable character. Yazdi, however, distinctly tells us that Memoirs of Timur's life were written under the direction of Timur himself, that they were read in his presence, and received "the impress of his approval."² Under such circumstances the autobiographical form is very likely to have been employed, even though Timur never wrote a line himself.

Dr. Sachau agrees that the Memoirs and the *Zafar-nama* are reproductions the one of the other; but his view is, that the Memoirs are derived from the *Zafar-nama*. Against this it may be urged, first, that Yazdi confesses that he used writings which had "received the impress of Timur's approval," and so acknowledges the pre-existence of something in the shape of Memoirs. Secondly, the *Zafar-nama* comprises neither "the Institutes of Timur" nor his "Testament," which form one part of the Memoirs; so, these at least were not taken from the *Zafar-nama*. Lastly, the Memoirs contain many

² See elsewhere in another volume.

little matters of detail which are not to be found in the *Zafar-nama*. So, if the one work "is a mere reproduction of the other," the larger work full of minor details cannot have been reproduced from the lesser work, in which those details do not appear. The *Zafar-nama* may have been entirely derived from the Memoirs, but it is scarcely possible that the Memoirs were wholly drawn from the *Zafar-nama*.

The *Tabakat-i Babari* noticed elsewhere reproduces Babar's Memoirs with all the graces of Persian rhetoric, and stands in the same relation to Babar's Memoirs as the *Zafar-nama* does to the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*. There is no question as to the priority of Babar's writings. In this case at least, the natural course prevailed, and the simple narrative preceded the highly elaborate and polished composition. Are not the two cases of Timur's and Babar's Memoirs more likely to be similar than contrary?

In the present volume there are two or three short extracts of the History of Timur, as given by 'Abdu-razzak in his *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*. Sir H. Elliot's Library contains only some portions of this part of the work, and no perfect copy of the MS. is accessible, so at present it cannot be ascertained whether 'Abdu-razzak acknowledges the source from which he derived the History of Timur. That he borrowed it or translated it from a previous writer is apparent—for nothing can be more dissimilar in style than the two volumes of the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*. The History of Timur is as simple and plain as Timur's own Memoirs: the Embassy to India is narrated in the high style, in language almost as florid and ornate as that of the *Zafar-nama*. It is easy to see which style the author preferred. Where then did he get his History of Timur? If he translated or adapted Timur's Memoirs as given in the *Malfuzat*, the simplicity of style will be accounted for. It can never be believed that he drew his history from the *Zafar-nama*, transferring

it from a style which he himself cultivated and must have admired, into a plain narrative, uncongenial to his taste and unsatisfactory to him as an ambitious writer. If 'Abdu-r Razzak did not use the *Mal'fuzat*, he must have used some work remarkably similar to it. No such work is known.

Timur's Memoirs profess to have been written in Turki, and the translation into Persian was not made until long after the date of the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*. A careful collation of several pages of the Persian version of the Memoirs and of the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain* shows no identity of language. So the latter work may have been derived from the original Turki version of the Memoirs, but the Persian version of the Memoirs was not stolen from the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*.

The chief and only tenable arguments against the authenticity of the work are the time and place of its discovery, and the fact of the original Turki version never having come to light. The force of these objections is fully acknowledged; but they are not and cannot be decisive. The considerations above urged must have some weight in countervailing them, but a more forcible argument than all may be drawn from the Memoirs themselves. These seem to bear the impress of originality and authenticity. The style of the work is such as no forger would have been likely to adopt; while the personal and family matters, the petty details, the unreserved expression of the ferocious thoughts and designs of the conqueror, and the whole tenor of the work, seem to point to Timur himself as the man by whom or under whose immediate direction and superintendence the Memoirs were written.—J. D.

THE END.





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